

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
AND
Eminent CONDUCT

Of that Learned and Reverend Divine,

DANIEL WILLIAMS, *D.D.*

WITH

Some ACCOUNT of his Scheme for
the vigorous Propagation of Religion, as
well in ENGLAND as in SCOTLAND and
several other Parts of the World.

Address'd to Mr. PEIRCE.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *E. Curll*, at the *Dial* and *Bible*
against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*,
M. DCC. XVIII. Price 2s. 6d. Bound.

INT TO

THE

CONFIDENTIAL

10. The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors:

D. D. Williams, D. D.

117177

General Robert F. Jones of the World
War II Veterans Association and
the Virginia Association of Teachers,
became a member of the Institute for

20 0 1 1 0 1

[illegible]



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE of Dr. *Williams*.

OUR Present Design being to relate as well some eminent Things which have happened in the separated Churches of Christ in this Nation, since the late Revolution, as what share this Eminent Servant of God, has thro' the Agency of Divine Providence been honour'd with in those Affairs: I shall not therefore, as is usual in Histories of this kind, trouble my self or the Reader of these Sheets with the looking back to his Nativity, Genealogy, or Introduction into the World, or into that Sphere of Action which he was in his Childhood appointed to move in; these Things being too much below the Design. But proceed to the more weighty Affairs of his Life, and of the Times he liv'd in, so far as he had any concern in them.

For this Reason, I have called this Work by the significant Title of MEMOIRS, rather than

B that

that of a *Compleat History*, which indeed, must not only have confin'd me to the particular Accounts which he had a share in the Management of, but also to his particular share of those Actions, and have made this Work less useful to the Memory of the Person spoken of, and less profitable and instructing to those who shall read it: Contracting it so entirely to the Actions of the Man whose History we should be writing, as not to allow those needful Excursions into the State of Things as we have now the Liberty to do, and which will not only Profit and Divert the Reader, but make the Character of the Person the Account of his Conduct, and the Memory of his Diligence and Usefulness in the Work, and to the Interest in which he was embarked much more Perfect and Compleat.

I shall therefore go no farther back in the History of the Life of Mr. *Williams* than to observe, that at the Time of the late Troubles, in the Reign of King *James II.* he was Pastor of a Presbyterian Congregation in the City of *Dublin*, called the *Woodstreet* Congregation, and to whom he testified his Affection so, at his last Hours, as to leave a Legacy to their Poor of no less than Forty Pounds, besides other considerable Legacies to some of the Members of that Congregation.

He was so useful a Person in General, and had such Influence there among People of the greatest Quality, as made him not only very helpful to the Protestant Interest, but very obnoxious to the Rage and inveterate Malice of the Popish Party; and at length, as that *Popish Party*, by the

the Conduct and Management of King *James*, and his Great *Irish* Favourite, the Lord *Tyrconnell*, grew more absolute and insolent, it made his Case, as it was the Case of many other active Instruments in the Protestant Cause, be very difficult; till at last, it was really no longer safe to him to stay in a Country where a Party inured to Massacres and Blood, guided by Principles to destroy those that by Principle opposed them, and encouraged by their Governours to offer all kinds of Violence to those who stood in the Gap, against the Inundation of Tyranny, which was then breaking out; had Arms put in their Hands, and a full Liberty of using them, to the Destruction of all that opposed them.

This, in particular, made it unsafe to Mr. *Williams* to stay any longer in *Dublin*; and as any other part of *Ireland* was at that time so far from affording a Retreat to him, that it was less a Retreat for such as he was, than *Dublin* it self; so he could not think of any Thing less than returning to *England*; where, as he was sure of being Safe and Easy, so he might, in time, be made useful to the best Interest, as he had been before in *Ireland*.

It may be needful to observe here, because it may obviate some Objections which I shall meet with afterwards, and answer some officious Enquirers into the manner of his amassing the Wealth left behind him; I say, it may be needful to observe here, that as he had been introduced into the World in very good Circumstances, so he had partly by Marriage in *Ireland*, partly by considerable Legacies left him by Persons of Eminence there, who valued him for

his extraordinary Merit, and partly by a Wise and Prudent Oeconomy of his private Affairs, considerably encreas'd his Estate, and was not only master of a good Competence, but beyond that, was esteemed very Rich at the time of his leaving that Kingdom.

This and the just Fame of an unspotted Integrity, as well as a masterly Judgment and Prudence of Conduct, brought upon him the intolerable Burthen of Executorships, Family Trusts, and other Encumbrances, occasion'd from being often engaged by his dying Friends to Council, Direct and Assist their Widows and Orphans in the Management of their Affairs: In these weighty and troublesome Matters, he always avoided as much as possible the embarrassing himself with the Trusts, choosing rather to be the Adviser and Director of others joyn'd with him in such Administrations, than to Act immediately, or take Estates into his Hands; which often involve Executors unavoidably in the most inextricable Difficulties, and expose them to the Clamours of unthinking Orphans, who are seldom satisfied with the most prudent Conduct of their Guardians.

This Caution of his was much his Advantage, as it made his Way easy when he found his Retreat necessary, *as above*; and as it kept his own Affairs unentangled, so that at his Death he leaves no long Accounts unsettled, no Disputes with any undetermined, no Claims of any kind upon him, and he that was so often the Arbiter of other Peoples Differences was sure to leave behind him none of his own.

In these Circumstances he came over to *England*, about the time of the late Revolution, and he had not been here long before he found he was made useful even in his very Flight, and that to those very People, and some of his own Congregation, who were, at first, not only very loth to part with him, but even had almost reflected upon his want of Courage and Steadiness in God's Cause, for quitting so easily the Charge he was engaged in, and seeking his own Preservation.

But in a little time he found himself useful in *England*, even to many of those very People who being in a very few Months oblig'd, *tho' by far less obnoxious than he was*, to fly also to *England*, found him here a very comfortable Forerunner many Ways, and useful to them for their Encouragement, Assistance, and to many, even a Provider for them in their Exile and Distress.

For Mr. *Williams* being in *London* could not be hid from the World, the Ministers first, and soon after the best of the People among the Dissenters courted his Service and Acquaintance immediately, and as well for his most Polite and exquisite Conversation, as for his popular Preaching, he became more than ordinarily acceptable to all sorts of People, was exceedingly Followed, and had presently the offer of several extraordinary Settlements, which however he at first declined for some time.

His being thus rendred acceptable among the Dissenters at his first Appearance, was a remarkable Providence to many Families, I might perhaps say with Truth, to many Thousands. For the dreadful Havock which *Tyrconnell*, supported
-by

by a great Army of *Irish Cut-Throats*, made in *Ireland*, after King *James* was fled, taking Possession of the whole Kingdom for his abdicated Master, and afterwards of the City of *Dublin* it self: I say, that Popish Army spreading it self into all Parts, made such a havock of the Protestants Estates and Effects, and began such visible Encroachments and Oppression upon them as plainly shew'd them what they were to expect, and this made them fly from all Parts of that Kingdom with their Families and Effects, at least such as they could secure, and flock to *England* in great Numbers, and some in great Distress also.

Here they found Mr. *Williams* like *Joseph* to his Brethren, not only ready to Encourage, Direct, and even Assist them also, which he did Chearfully, and to a large Degree out of his own Pocket, but so riveted in the good Opinion of the People here, as to be made a happy Instrument on one Hand to excite in General the *English* Dissenters to Relieve and Supply the ruined Families of their Fellow-Protestants, who were fled from the bloody and cruel Hands of the *Irish* Papists, and were really Sufferers for a good Conscience, and therefore were real Objects of their Charity. But also on the other hand, was able to recommend particular Families and Persons according to their Merit, their Circumstances, and their Professions, and to introduce them as well among the Dissenters as such, as also higher, and even at the Court and to King *William* himself, from whom his Majesty being a true Judge of Men Mr. *Williams* could not be Concealed.

But

Thus he was to the poor Refugee Protestants not only a Friend, a Comforter, and a Minister, but another *Joseph*, a Fountain of Supply, a Refuge in a strange Land, a mean to their Support and Assistance in general; and to many other of them in particular he was an Introduction to their being employ'd and advanc'd, as well in Civil as Military Employments, whereby they were made instrumental to do good to themselves and others, and in time to help drive out of the Kingdom of *Ireland* that Popish Enemy, and overthrow that Army which had been the Cause of their flying from their Native Country, and of all the Mischiefs following.

Thus even in that Action of his Life, which his Friends thought the worst of, he was made useful to them in particular who thought so, and useful in general to the Protestant Interest and the Cause of Religion.

Nor did he make an ill Use of the Advantages which Providence by this means put into his Hands of doing Good; for first of all, his own Beneficent Temper inspir'd others at that time with Principles of Charity, and with a Sense of the Sufferings of their Fellow Protestants, which at first it was not so easy to make them sensible of: For there went about at first among the Good People of *England*, and in *London* especially, little kind of Prejudices against the Conduct of the *Irish* Protestants, as if they had feared where no fear was, and fled when none pursued; at least that they had been too timorous, and had abandon'd their Friends when they were in no apparent Necessity, and had thereby discouraged others from joyning their united Strength together

ther for the defence of the Country, and encouraged the Native *Irish*, a People despicable and contemptible to the last Degree, if fairly engag'd and fac'd in the Field, but Insolent and Cruel in proportion to their cowardly Tempers, when they are not opposed, or when by flying from them and other Tokens of Fear, they are made to fancy themselves more formidable than really they were; so that our People had a notion that these Families who fled in such Numbers, ought rather to be look'd upon as Betrayers of the Protestant Cause, and of their Friends and their Country, than Sufferers for the Protestant Religion.

This Notion was at first a great Obstruction to the charitable Disposition of our People, and as it began to spread and grow popular it closed the Hands of many considerable Persons who were otherwise well enclin'd to relieve them, as also able to do it largely; and had this Opinion spread much farther, the poor distressed Families which came daily over from *Ireland* in great Numbers, would have been in Danger of perishing here without Relief.

But Mr. *Williams* applying himself to some of the principal Persons whose Thoughts were thus prejudiced, very happily opened their Eyes to the truer Understanding of the Case; letting them see that the Circumstances of the Protestants in *Ireland*, tho' in general very deplorable, yet differ'd very much one from another, that some of them were more exposed to the Tyranny and oppression of *Tyrconnell's* Army than others and were therefore obliged to make their Escape sooner, that so far was it from their being

ing wanting to the Encouragement of others to resist the Enemy, that on the contrary, the others who were at full Liberty and out of immediate Danger, and might by a sudden and strict Union have made themselves formidable to the *Irish*, had by separating after they had taken Arms, been a Discouragement to these and might much more have been said to have betray'd and abandon'd them by their Divisions, and by being irresolute in their Measures; by which these who were *as it might be said*, in the Enemies Hands, were left utterly hopeless and destitute, and had no Remedy but to get off in Ships and Vessels as they could; nay, some were driven to such Extremities as to commit themselves perfectly void of Substance, and even of Necessaries, to the Mercy of the Seas; and to ship themselves desperately in open Boats for *England*, having small Hopes of ever reaching the Shore.

The Circumstances of these People being represented in lively Expressions by their faithful Advocate Mr. *Williams*, put an End by Degrees, to the unhospitable Suggestions of those People, who, as I said, were prejudiced against the *English-Irish* Protestants for their hasty Flight, as above, and the Charity which follow'd was afterwards in Proportion the greater, and flow'd in the fuller Stream to the great Comfort and Relief of those poor suffering People, whose Circumstances at that time were very miserable: Nor was it long before the publick State of these Affairs gave every one the same Ideas of the unhappy Conduct of the Gentlemen who at first took Arms in *Ireland*, who for want of a settled Resolution to stand by one another lost

the first Advantages which offered to them to have given a Check to the Popish Army ; which unsettled Resolution and want of Union and Harmony in the said Gentlemen who first took Arms, was not the Ruine of these first *Refugees* only, but even at last of themselves also ; and occasion'd the Loss for a while of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, those two little Places of *London-Derry* and *Inniskilling* only excepted.

He was by this means made very useful to his Friends, and as a Worthy Gentleman of *Dublin* said of him, he seem'd to be sent to *England* by special Direction of Providence as the Harbinger or Commissary General of Heaven, to provide for the miserable Multitude of those Sufferers who were to follow ; and to open the Purse, and prepare the Minds of the People in *England* to be Charitable and Beneficent to them, as well as to remove the Difficulties which at first obstructed that Charity, as before.

But this was not all ; The publick Temper which he had so successfully improv'd among the People here, made him reciprocally useful to the Government also, and he became presently well known at Court ; The King had his Character better than some who thought they knew him more intimately, and his Majesty took Care not to want the Advantage of his Judgment in the *Irish* Affairs, and especially his extraordinary Knowledge of Persons, the strength of Interests, Places, and Parties in *Ireland* ; and on these Accounts had Mr. *Williams* often consulted with, and sometimes did him the Honour to converse very freely with him.

The

The Queen also did the like in his Majesty's Absence in *Ireland*; and he had the Felicity to offer many seasonable and useful Pieces of Advice in Cases of the greatest Nicety, which made his Judgment be very much vallued by those who were at that time at the Head of the Administration, and he was indeed in very great Esteem with the King, even after that War was over, and to the end of his Reign; and had not different Councils taken place at Court, and the King who was perpetually embarrass'd with the Factions of his Courtiers, been oblig'd to change Hands, and to Countenance or not to Countenance Men, rather by the Misfortune of his Circumstances, than by his own Judgment, Mr. *Williams* had great Opportunities to have established himself to that Degree in his Majesties Favour, as to have been able to have serv'd his Friends in a differing manner from what he did.

However, During these *Opportunities* of Power and Interest, he was not idle, nor was he wanting to improve them to an entirely possessing the King with those Sentiments of Liberty which he himself possess, and the Justice of having the Services of all his Subjects be rewarded, in Proportion to their Merit: But the King found it would not do with the People he was engag'd with, and so was oblig'd to lay by the Thoughts of it.

On the other hand, Mr. *Williams* fail'd not to use the Interest he had at Court to the Advantage of his Friends, and especially in *Ireland*, where his Recommendations were effectual, as well to serve his Friends, and Restore a great many honest Gentlemen, as to serve the Government, and

I have been told that he earnestly prest the Relief of the City of *London Derry*, and that tho' it was not his Fault that it was assisted no sooner, yet that much was due to his earnest Sollicitations for that most seasonable Supply which came at last, by which that gallant Remnant were delivered from the bloody Hands of their Enemies, who would have been as Cruel in the Conquest as they were cowardly in the Attack of that little unfortified, or at best ill-fortified Spot; which had the *Irish* Army acted like Men, could not have held a regular Siege of fifteen Days open Trenches: But their Folly was the Felicity of the whole Town, and indeed of the whole Kingdom, as it gave time to the King's Ships to come seasonably to their Relief.

All these things Mr. *Williams* concern'd himself in from a meer Publick Principle, from a Spirit of Zeal for the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and a sincere Affection to his Country; and this appeared the more undeniably to be so, in that he acted it all in Secret without Ostentation, without the Vanity of having his Attempts to do the Service made Publick: He never sought the Reward of his Endeavours in the Praise of Men; he carefully avoided being made popular, never suffering himself to be Flattered or Complimented into, or out of any thing; Nay, so retir'd, so secret was he in the Service of his Country, and so faithful to the Services the King entrusted him with, that I believe, to this Day, many of his most intimate Acquaintance have scarce heard that he had any Hand in those Affairs,

While

While these Things were transacting, his Character spread it self another way with equal Advantage: A Man of such Merit, and so eminent not for his Preaching only, but for Piety, Wisdom, and a most grave and profiting Conversation, could not be concealed; and being known, could not but be desir'd, and one of the most numerous Congregations of Dissenters in *London*, being at that time without a Pastor, by the Decease of their Minister, gave this Evidence of their having a true Taste of the best Gifts, by giving him an unanimous Call to the Pastoral Charge.

It was not any want of a Sense of the Kindness they shew'd him in that Invitation, that made him decline at first accepting a Pastoral Charge of such Consequence, or that made him accept it at last with reluctance; but it was the Effect of a Modesty peculiar to the Greatest Merit; for, as a Wiseman Remarks very Happily upon the Subject of the Affections, no Man of a compleat Merit can be conceited of his own Capacities, and it is part of the Accomplishment of a Man of Worth to be modest in his Opinion of it. However Mr. *Williams* not to dishonour the the Goodness of God to him in calling him to be a Minister, and quallifying him for that Employment; and not to dishonour his Friends who had invited him to such a considerable Charge, resolv'd at last to accept it, and Accordingly entered upon that Work about the Year..... in which place he continued to his Death, having for his Assistants, first Mr. *Callamy*, now Dr. *Calamy*, who was afterwards called to succeed the famous Mr. *Alsop* at *Westminster*, and then Mr. *Evans* a
Welch

Welch Minister of singular Parts and Learning, who at present succeeds him.

This Undertaking did not at all lessen his Concern for the Publick Interest, but rather encreas'd it, and while he was thus acting in the Service of the general Interest, it brought him insensibly after he was thus entred among the Ministers of *London*, to be concern'd in the Management of the Interest of the Dissenters as such: He had not been long among the Ministers, but as he appeared not only thoroughly acquainted with their Interest, but also known and Intimate with the prime Ministers, and the chief Men in the Kingdom, it appeared also that he had the greatest Opportunities of any Man to cultivate and propagate their Interest upon all Occasions at Court; and as his Zeal for them, and Fidelity to them was, on many Occasions not to be doubted, so the Opinion every one entertain'd of his Readiness to do all the Offices of Love and Kindness that could be desir'd of him for the propagating their Interest and supporting their Cause, brought him to be always engag'd for them, and he became the common Resort of the Dissenters in all Cases of Difficulty, or that required the forming an Interest.

This made his House a meer Court of *Requests*, and he was the general Agent for the Cause of God with the Sons of Men. Nothing of Great Concern could be acted without him, every thing that no body could do, was brought to him, and he was for four Years the only Man of Weight, with whom the Publick maintain'd any Correspondence in the Cause of the Dissenters.

Envy

Envy set on Work by the Devil, found some Attempts in the Infancy of his Concern with the Dissenters, to have broke in upon his Reputation ; but his generous casting himself even upon the Justice of some that were not the most inclin'd to clear him, and his most accurate Defence of himself in such a manner that the worst Enemy he had found a necessity of acquitting him, Dissipated all those Clouds, clear'd up his Innocence, and so effectually silenc'd his Accusers that they never offer'd any farther Attacks upon him, but endeavour'd, *even themselves*, to bury the Remembrance of what they had attempted to do.

This however was a sensible Affliction to him, and that on several Accounts, but particularly as it threaten'd to lessen his Usefulness in the World : As to the Guilt, he had not the least Concern upon him on that Account ; nor was there upon a strict Examination the least Shadow of Truth, or so much as room for the Suggestion ; but he was not ignorant of the Effects of Slander, or how far Prejudices might prevail with some to run away with the Rumour of a Crime, not waiting for the Evidence of Fact, and as he often said ; *No Virtue is Proof against Slander, no Character against False Tongues*. But as he plac'd his Confidence in his Sovereign Protector, he had the Comfort of seeing that Protection eminently given him, and that Envy itself made no attack upon his Character ever after.

As his Capacities were extended farther than is usual in Nature, so his Opportunity for exerting them were extraordinary ; few Men of so
great

great Ability for Action ever had so great a Stage of Action to move upon; for he had the Care of the whole Interest of the Dissenters in *England* as it were resting upon his Councils, he had also the Interest of the Churches in *Ireland* continually upon his Hands; and, *as I shall shew by it self*, he had the Church of *Scotland* at Heart, more than most, if not than all the other Dissenters in *England*, whether Ministers or People, of which I shall speak by it self.

But to return to his Conduct at Home, he had the Care of all the Churches, if I may be allow'd to call the Dissenters Congregations so; he had the Care of their Religious and Political Interests upon him, and it was not long before he found great Necessity on this Occasion, to exercise not all the Talents of Wisdom and Prudence only which God had so eminently given him; But all the Interest he had left among the Nobility at Court, in Order to fortify the Dissenters against the Tory Party.

This was in the first Attempts of that Party in Parliament, in Order to get a Law pass'd against the *Occasional Conformity* of Dissenters: This was a Law mightily strugled for at that time by the Tory Party, and the Dissenters found great Friends at Court at that time, to oppose it on this Account only: It is true, it was a Thing which other Circumstances brought upon them afterwards, even under the Conduct of those very Men who he had happily engaged against it before; and it was a surprizing Thing to find it so, and such as this *Reverend Champion* of the Dissenters, *for such he was*, often spoken of with great Regret; That such a Circumstance was to befall

befal the Dissenters, as that those very noble Persons, and that very Interest at Court should apply themselves to bring this Bill in, who had before been the Bulwarks against it, and by whom the same Bill had twice been thrown out: This was a Blow that stunn'd and astonish'd the Dissenters; it was not only fatal in its Consequences, but surprising in its Circumstances, as it came from those very Hands which were look'd upon to be their Defence: However, in this Conjunction, Mr. *Williams* was particularly serviceable to preserve the Temper of the Dissenters, and calm some of them, who were forward enough to lead them all into the natural Resentments of such Treatment: He calmly let them know that this was not the Way, nor the time; that they were to acquiesce in it as the Hand of Providence, and wait the Event with Patience; that since they knew it was what they could otherwise prevent, to fly at the Interest which had done it, was to gratify their Enemies, in dividing from their Friends, and to strengthen that Interest which would not only restrain them but destroy them: By these and other Arguments of the like kind, he pacified the Minds of the Dissenters, and brought them to submit to what they could not retrieve, and not to break with their Friends, as the Tories both desired and expected. But to go back to his first opposing; those Bills, in his Judgment he was clear against the Practice of Occasional Conformity, that is to say, as it was made use of by some meerly as a *Qualification for Places*, for he distinguish'd plainly between those *who conform'd*, meerly for the Place as a Qualification, and

D

others

others who conforming, from Principle to preserve the Catholick Unity of the Church, had communicated with the Church for a long time before any Place offer'd, or before they had any Preferment in View ; it was his Trouble that others did not make the same Distinction in this Case as he did, and as he knew was just ; nor was he wanting in his Endeavours to bring all People to a right Method of reasoning on that Point; that the Dissenters might on the one Hand be acknowledg'd in their maintaining a charitable Disposition to all their Fellow Christians, and a Catholick Spirit even where they were oblig'd to dissent, and yet might avoid the Scandal of an inexcusable Corruption of Principles, which their Enemies at that Time diligently endeavour'd to load them with; as if they had abandon'd all Principle, dissented in a kind of Faction, and could at any time conform again for their private Advantage.

He labour'd hard to explain this just Distinction, even among the Dissenters themselves ; for all the Dissenters had not a uniform Notion of that Particular : Nor have they yet, *some* of them, being still rigid against occasional Conformity of any kind, and upon any Account whatsoever, as a Practice dangerous to Principle, and destructive to their Interest ; while others of a greater Latitude in Principle, acting upon the Foundation of a broad Charity, and to shew what they call a true Christian Spirit, believe they are Members of the Universal Church of Christ, and that they may with Safety communicate with Christians of all Perswasions, where no direct sinful Terms of Communion are imposed, and where

where nothing is taught or profess'd unworthy of God and the Gospel of his Son.

Mr. *Williams*, I say, endeavour'd as much as in him lay to set People right in their Opinions upon this Subject, and to preserve a Ballance in their Judgments, so as that they might not run into too great a Latitude one way, or too much tye themselves up to a narrowness of Principle the other way : But while thus he did not approve Occasional Conformity, as describ'd above, *yet with all his Might he opposed* the tying up the Dissenters from it by a Law ; especially so, as those Laws were proposed, which were indeed manifest Invasions upon their Civil Rights as Subjects, and an open Persecution for Conscience, in both which Cases he represented so faithfully, and argued so strenuously the Oppression, and Injustice of such an Imposition upon the Dissenters as a free-born People ; that several Persons of the first Rank were brought in to oppose those Proceedings, who at first were under the general Prepossession, and had entertain'd Notions of the Dissenters as a People with whom it was not needful to keep any Measures, or to enquire whether they were used with Justice or not.

In this he acted very wisely, and as it pleased God, very successfully also at that time; and the Dissenters Interest got much Ground on that Occasion, throughout the whole Nation ; much weight being added to it by their having a Person of such Judgment at the Head of their Interest, always at hand to interpose, if any Steps were taking to their Prejudice, and to explain Things to the Ministry of those times in a man-

ner which they had not been acquainted with before.

By this means the Court began to entertain different Notions of the Dissenters from those they had had for some Ages before, neither esteeming them dangerous on one hand, or inconsiderable on the other, and far from censuring them as in former Days, as a Faction separating upon Principles destructive to Government, Enemies to Monarchy, and the like.

But now, as all hasty Mistakes are made worse by the ill Conduct of those who fall into them, so it was here, for some of the Dissenters making a wrong Judgment of the Times, and concluding from the favourable Disposition of the Court to the Dissenters at that time, and the Smiles they receiv'd from them, that therefore now was a time to ask more than indeed it was likely could be granted; *I say*, from these Notions some of the Dissenters fell into another Extreme; and it was in vain to perswade them that now was not a seasonable time to attempt the taking off those Laws which oblig'd them to conform to the Church, as a Qualification for Civil Employments in the State; they found the Rancour of their Enemies discourag'd and discountenanc'd by the Government, and the favourable Dispositions of the Court to them were so unexpected, and their Concessions so great, that they thought they would grant any thing that could be ask'd of them; and that therefore, now was the time not to be wanting to themselves, and to push their Interest while it was in so advantageous a Scituation: In a word, nothing could perswade these Men, but that it was now a proper time

to

to ask what they had so long wish'd for, (*viz.*) the repealing the Test Act, a Law unqualifying all that would not conform to the Church of *England*, for the possessing any Civil Employment or Office, either of Trust or Profit in the State.

It was in vain for Mr. *Williams* to perswade them against these forward Steps; he was not ignorant that the Temper of the People *above*, however favourable to the Dissenters upon that Occasion, and perhaps not a little, with a view of their own Advantages also; yet had a great many Reasons why they would not go that length, and that indeed speaking of the Circumstances of Parties at that time, they durst not, tho' it had been true at the same time, as it really was not, that they had a real Disposition to have done it: He knew that albeit there were a great many of the Low Church Gentlemen in the House who were against persecuting the Dissenters, and that would not give their Votes to lay any Burthens upon them, yet they were not come up to a Temper so favourable neither, as to take those off which were laid on before; and it was always his Opinion, that to offer it at that time, would do the Dissenters Interest more harm than Good.

However, as moderate Arguments do not often prevail where People have once taken in Notions of their own forming, be those Notions ever so absurd, so it was here; and in spite of all the Perswasions and Reasonings Mr. *Williams* or several other eminent Ministers could use against precipitating themselves in this Cause, they would go on; and accordingly, Mr. *Humphreys* an antient Minister, and one whose Years and Weakness

Weakness seem'd to protect him from the publick Resentment, was singled out to be the Man to usher it into the World; accordingly the good old Man, whose Zeal out-strip'd his Judgment at that time, resolv'd to make the Essay, and printed a half Sheet of Arguments or Propositions for taking off the Test.

No sooner was this Blow given but it recoil'd upon the Dissenters to their great Hurt, for their own Friends, *at least such the Dissenters esteem'd them to be till that time*, I say their own Friends were the first that took Fire at it, the Whiggs in the House of Commons were the Men only that appeared to resent it, making warm Speeches upon the Occasion of the Paper that was Published, and representing it as an Insolence not to be pass'd over; as a Blow aim'd at the Church, and a thing which ought to be enquir'd into and crush'd in its Infancy: Accordingly, the Complaint was made in the House of the printed Paper under the Title of a *Libel*, and with the Additions of Impudent, Scandalous, &c. and upon reading it in the House, the Printer and Publisher were ordered into Custody, and they having discover'd the Author, he was also fetch'd up, where after the Paper it self was censured as above, the antient Gentleman appearing, was in meer Favour to his Years, being as was said near Ninety Years of Age reprimanded by the Speaker and let go.

But as Mr. *Williams* had often foretold, so it happen'd, (*viz.*) that this was a great Blow to the Interest of the Dissenters, for it estrang'd many of their Friends, weaken'd the Hands of Others, and gave occasion to their Enemies to repre-

represent them as a dangerous designing encroaching People, who had no sooner obtain'd one Favour but they would be craving another, and that being restless in their Designs, would never be satisfied till they had gotten Power in their Hands to oppress the Church.

It is true, that it was given as a Reason why some of the Whig Members were the first that complained of this Attempt, *viz.* That the Country having been alarm'd at the Attempt, would have look'd on those Members who did not oppose it to be Enemies of the Church, and so they should have lost their Interest in the Places they serv'd for, and in another Election have been rejected on that Account. But Mr. *Williams* was satisfied that this Opposition was the Effect of meer Principle, and that it would appear so upon the like occasion, if any such should present hereafter, and it has always hitherto been the Opinion of those who have well considered it, that even the most moderate Churchmen, tho' they would not persecute the Dissenters, yet believe the Test Act a Fortification about the Church, which they think it would be dangerous to pull down, and therefore as they make no scruple in communicating in the Church themselves, they cannot so readily see the Reasons of the Difficulty to others.

This was the Affair of all others that happened in his Time, in which Mr. *Williams's* Advice was least followed, and by this the Dissenters lost more Ground than by any thing which happen'd in those Times, of which at least, this may be said to his part of it, (*viz.*) That it was far from being his Fault.

There

There was another Affair, in which, tho' he wanted no Application or Intelligence, yet he could not meet with the desired Success, the evil Influences at Court, prevailing at that Time also, to prevent the Endeavours of those who acted from juster Principles; and prevailing to act the most dishonourable Part, if that may be said of a late Administration; I say, to act the most dishonourable part by the Dissenters, that it was ever thought could be possible for those Men to act, who appeared in it. This was when the Sacramental Test was imposed by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, upon the Dissenters there, even contrary to the Design, or even the Desire of the Parliament there, or indeed of the Church of *Ireland* Men themselves, who express'd themselves griev'd and offended at it to the last Degree. The Case was thus,

After the War in *Ireland* had been over some Years, it was observed that the Advantages which the Popish Interest there had obtained by the too hasty Capitulations of *Limerick* and *Galway*, had given them not only time to take new Breath, but had revived the wild Imaginations of their Priests, to hope still for a Restoration of their Circumstances; and consequently to be restless in their Endeavours, to put their Party in a Condition to be formidable again to the Protestants, upon the first Occasions that might offer to that Purpose; and several most audacious Things had been done, as well by the said Priests, as by some of the *Irish* Gentlemen, who are its known, such blind Biggots to their Priests, as that there is scarce any thing so gross, so wicked, as well as so desperate, which they will not Engage

engage in by their Direction, and upon their Encouragement, and as their Insolence thus increased, so it was observed that Peace having been now settled about ten or twelve Year their Youth were grown up, the Children of the late times of War were grown Men and Women, their Numbers began to make up the Vacancies which the Calamities of the World had made, and there was very little miss of the Numbers carried off by the Sword.

It was about the Year 1704. that the Parliament of *Ireland* were moved by the most eminent Protestants of that Kingdom, in consideration of the said growing Insolence, and Numbers of the Papists there, to consider of some Methods for their own Security ; this Motion came mutually from the Dissenters there, as well as the Church of *Ireland* Protestants, and our vigilant faithful Agent Mr. *Williams*, whose Eyes were always open to the Interest of Religion, had his Share in this part also, and that no small share neither ; His Intelligence in *Ireland* was so good, and their Value for him so great, that as nothing was done without his Knowledge, so nothing considerable was done without his Advice and Approbation, and as they communicated to him the Measures they had taken to introduce a Bill into the House for the strengthening the Protestant Interest, and preventing the Growth of Popery ; so he on the other hand, not only encouraged them to the utmost of his Power in so good and necessary a Design, but fail'd not to give his Thoughts on that useful Subject, and to offer such Clauses, such Schemes and Measures as he knew would be most effectual to curb the insolence

E

solence of the Papists, *for none more perfectly knew the state of the Question then in debate than he.*

If he could not do any thing to prevent the Blow that I am now to give an account of, it was not for want of Interest here, or for want of Readiness to make use of that Interest : But because the Managers of the mischievous Design, acted in the Dark, and concealed the Thing from all possible inspection till the Blow was given, and it was not possible for the most penetrating Judgment to have at that time guess'd at their Design. To make the Reader perfectly Master of this Affair, I must look back a little to the History of the Fact, which may be thus abridg'd, *viz.*

The Protestants in *Ireland* had many Years Laboured under the Encroachments of the Papists, they had been once most horridly massacred to the Number of 200000. and the rest plundered and Driven from their Settlements and Possessions in the Year 1641.

In the last War they ran a Fate equal to the first, *the Massacre Excepted, and as may Be farther observed,* in these Extremities, the little City of *Derry* was a second time made the only place of Refuge for the Protestants; a Sanctuary which the Papists could never drive them out of, with all their Force, and where they found such Resistance as gave the World Reason to know, that the Aversion between the Dissenters and the Papists was as constant, as great, and as irreconcilable as possible : But what serv'd to encrease the Wonder now, was, That the Dissenters should of all People in the World be look'd upon as Persons
in

in the same Class *with the Papists*, and enacted against in a Bill to prevent *the growth of Popery*.

In order to secure the Protestants from the like Eruptions of Popery, several Bills had been offered in Parliament to prevent the Growth and Encrease of that Power that had been so dangerous, and had struck twice at the Root of their *Liberty and Religion*.

But it had been the Misfortune of that Country to have such Bills, thro' one unhappy Accident or other, always to miscarry either at home among themselves, or at the *English Court*, where the Native *Irish* always cultivated such an Interest either by Money or worse Means, as was too hard for the Protestants, and has been a Means to deprive them of the blessing of such Bills.

The late glorious King *William*, who at the hazard of his Royal Person, was the special Instrument of their second Redemption from the prevailing Power of the *Irish*, had such a peculiar Love for that Kingdom *as the Triumph of his own immediate Conduct and Valour*, that he always studied its welfare, and was ready to give Ear to any Proposal for its Advantage.

But as that Prince who had upon his Thoughts the universal good of Mankind, had no sooner recovered one Kingdom from Destruction but he had another upon his Hands; (his whole Reign being embarrass'd with the perpetual Cares of serving ungrateful Nations) so the Protestants found the Settlement of Affairs in *Ireland* so perplex'd, and the Reassumption of Grants ready to bring a new Difficulty on the Stage, that in all this Time they found no Opportunity to offer at the Settlement and Security

of their Interest and Religion, as they expected and desir'd.

But when they saw these Disorders pretty well over, and the late Queen (being establish'd on the Throne) had assur'd them of her Concern for the Preservation of the Conquest which King *William* had made; this of all the critical Junctures that ever happen'd to *Ireland* seem'd the happy Opportunity put into their Hands by a special Providence, to obtain the Settlement and Security of the Protestant Religion, which they and their Ancestors had spent so much Blood and Treasure to procure, and the want of which had been attended with so many fatal Consequences.

In order to this, among the several Bills presented by the Parliament to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to be by him transmitted to *London*, and to be passed in the Council there, according to the Settlement; there was one particular Bill, Entituled, *An Act to prevent the Growth of Popery.*

Which Bill had the good luck to be approv'd at Court, and return'd to the Council in *Ireland*, with unexpected expedition, to the unspeakable Joy, and no less surprize of the whole Body of Protestants in that Kingdom, who scarce expected it as Things then went on in *England*.

But upon the reading the Bill, they found to their Amazement, among the Clauses for security of the Protestants, and weakning the Power of Popery, a new Clause put in by the *English* direction, to oblige all the Protestant Dissenters in *Ireland*, that have any Place, Office, or Trust from the Government, to conform to the Church of *Ireland*, and receive the Sacraments after the Usage thereof, or else to be Disabled,

abled, or Incapacitated for the Service of their Country.

The Protestants of the Church of *Ireland*, who though they were zealous for the establish'd Church, were yet sensible of the Power of the Papists, and how useful on all Occasions the Protestant Dissenters had been in helping them to oppose Popery, were extremely concern'd at this; they remember'd that their Power *tho' united*, had been twice too weak to resist the Papists, and that therefore it was a most unhappy piece of unseasonable Policy, to weaken the Church by depriving her of the assistance of so great a Body of Protestants, or at least Disobliging them.

They foresaw that this Clause would endanger the loss of the Bill, since it would engage the Dissenters with all their Interest to oppose it, as the Papists they were sure already would do.

They foresaw this Clause would alarm the Dissenters, and make them judge their faithful Services in the Sieges of *London-derry*, at *Inniskilling*, and other Places ill rewarded, and break that Harmony which with so much Charity and Tendernefs had been reciprocally maintain'd between Conformists and Dissenters in *Ireland*.

In consideration of these Things, almost all People were under great Concern, and not a few thought it very unkind to the Dissenters, and a Requital of their faithful Services at the Sieges of *London-derry*, at *Inniskilling*, and other Places, in a manner very unsuitable to theit Merits.

Nothing could be more a Surprize to Mr. *Williams* than the Account he received from *Ireland* of this Clause being inserted in the Bill, except

cept this, viz. *That it should be done here, and that he should never have the least intimation of it till he had it from Ireland*; However, he immediately applied himself to the proper Persons in the Ministry, to talk with them on this surprizing incident; He represented to them faithfully and fully, the Evil Consequences of such a Clause; nay, he expostulated freely, warmly, and in the most pressing Terms, the Injustice and even, the Ingratitude of such a Treatment, to a People who had done such Services to the Crown at such Expence of Blood and Treasure; and in such a time of Exigence as they had done; and how it was the way to oblige them to act in a quite differing manner, if ever a like Occasion should require their Services: It is not to be particularly repeated here, with what earnestness, how importuning, and how unanswerably plain he was with them on this head, insomuch that even the Courtiers themselves could scarce find any reply to make to him, but the ordinary shift of such Men in like Cases, viz. every one speaking for himself, that *they had no hand in it*, that they were verry sorry for it, that they did not approve of it, and the like, nor was it hard to bring them all to express their Dislike of it, tho' it was verry hard to bring one of them to concern himself for preventing the passing it, in that manner when it was done.

All the Intelligence Mr. *Williams* could get in this Affair, was that it was the late Earl of *Rochester* who had put in this Clause, and that the Measures for it were concerted between him and the Earl of *Nott - - - m*, and that they having both concerned themselves to bring the Queen
into

into it there, would be no prevailing with them who had a *known Enmity rivited* in them against the Dissenters, to send any counter Order about it.

This being the upshot of his Information, and being satisfied there was nothing to be done, he was oblig'd to sit still and mourn over the Iniquity of the Times, recommending the Protestant Interest in *Ireland* to the merciful Protection of that God in whose Hands are the Hearts of Men, and who in his own time will deliver the oppressed from the Hands of the Oppressor.

This remarkable Affair is yet made more evident by the concurrence of several eminent Circumstances, which happ'ned since; and which, tho' Mr. *Williams* did not live to see the Issue of, yet are very proper to note here, *viz.* That so ill have the Politicks of those eminent Zealots for the Church been calculated to the true Interest of their Country, or indeed of the Church. That during the Time of the late Rebellion in *Ireland*, and in the North of *England*, when many of the standing Regiments in *Ireland* were call'd over into *Scotland* to joyn the Royal Army, and the northern Parts, especially of *that Kingdom*, were left so naked, that the Government thought it absolutely necessary to grant a Commission of *Array* to arm the whole People; and to raise the Militia, and form them into Regiments for the safety of the Country; it appear'd that, excepting the Dissenters, there were not Gentlemen enough in the Country to be found, who were either capable of, or to be depended upon in that Service; the Government was therefore obliged to grant Commissions to Dissenters to serve as Officers in, and to command

command the said Militia; and to allow and even desire them to serve in the Commission of *Array*, to Exercise and Discipline the Country People, otherwise the Country had been left naked and exposed: Now had not the same maltreated Dissenters, who by that Clause of the Act against Popery, are guarded against, equally with Papists, and exposed as dangerous to the Protestant Religion, I say, had not the same Dissenters accepted those Commissions, taken Arms in the time of that particular Exigence, and headed the Militia of the Country in Defence of the Interest and Government of King *George*, it would have been hard to have found any of the Country Train'd Bands to have guarded the Country against the *Irish*, who were ready enough to have revolted, or to have guarded the Coast against the embarking of Men and Provisions for the Rebels then in Arms against the King in *Scotland*, and also in *England*.

But the dissenting Gentlemen there, banishing all Resentment when their Country's Safety was engag'd, running the venture of being prosecuted upon the aforesaid Act of Parliament, as serving without having qualified themselves, boldly took Arms, and heading the Militia, and associated People of the Country, shew'd the Popish Party that they were ready to defend themselves and the Country, whenever the other durst begin with them; and the Parliament of *Ireland* were so sensible of their Service, as well as their disinterested Zeal for King *George* in this, that when afterwards they were informed that those Dissenters were threatned to be prosecuted on that Account by some Tories, they past
that

that famous Vote, in an open Impeachment of the Act formerly mention'd, and without repealing the Act it self.

“ The Commons resolv'd, *Nemine Contradi-*
“ *cente*, that such of his Majesties Protestant
“ Dissenting Subjects of this Kingdom, as have
“ taken Commissions in the Militia, or acted in
“ the Comission of Array have thereby done a
“ seasonable service to his Majesties Royal Per-
“ son and Government. And the Protestant
“ Interest in this Kingdom.

“ *Resolved* that any Person who shall Com-
“ mence a Prosecution against a *Dissenter* who
“ has accepted, or shall except of a Commission
“ in the Array or Militia, is an Enemy to King
“ *George* and the Protestant Interest, and a Friend
“ to the *Pretender*.

It might have been expected that the Parli-
ment of *Ireland* should have naturally been mo-
ved, even of their own Accord, to have repeal-
ed a Law, or a binding Clause in a Law, which
their own Knowledge, must have told them was
so unjust in its own Nature, and which their
Experience told them, was so inconsistent with
the true Interest and Safety of the Publick. But
as Mr. *Williams* often express'd himself on that
Head, *It is easier to bring Men to confess two Errors*
than to reform one; even so it was here, they
allow'd the Justice of breaking this Law, but
concern'd not themselves to repeal it, suffering a
Law still to remain in Force, which upon any
Emergence they must acknowledge ought not to
be kept: But I confess this is a Digression,
because it was a Passage which Mr. *Williams* liv'd
not to see.

I return therefore to the Affairs under his special Cognisance; he had now some respite as to Publick Business, and was for some Years principally employ'd in the Oeconomy of the Dissenters Ministry, particularly as he presided much in their Meetings on their private Church Affairs, he had there the Seat of Judicature, in a manner, his Words being generally so authoritative, and his Character added such weight to them, that as *Job* said of himself, describing the Days of his Prosperity *Job* 29. 21, 22. and again Verse 8. *The Young Men saw me, and hid themselves: and the Aged arose, and stood up.*

This was his Case in the Assemblies of the Ministers, where he, tho' with great Modesty, yet with the Authority of his Wisdom, frequently guided their Affairs as if he had been in Commission, the plenipotentiary of the whole Body. This made the Gibeing part of the World give him the Title of the Dissenters Bishop, tho' even in this they did him Wrong too, for that as the general Testimony of the said Ministers will confirm, he always retain'd such a Modesty and Humility in his Conduct as set him above the Power of Reproach.

In this Station he was of course concern'd very much as a Director of the Publick Cash of the Dissenters, which they call by the way of Distinction, *The Fund*, and to this was necessarily annex'd three Trusts, (1.) That of placing Ministers in the Country in proper and vacant Places, and adding small Appointments for them in aid of such Stipends, as the place might afford, that they might live easie and comfortably; and as he said, might apply themselves to study,

Study, and to the Execution of their Office with Composure, and might improve themselves for the Publick Service, and it is observable, that of such Young Men so planted by his Care, and encouraged by his Direction, some as great Men as any the Dissenters have in View are now risen up; such as Mr. *James Pierce* of *Exeter*, Mr. - - - - - and others. 2. As to the Accademies and Schools of the Dissenters, if I may not say they have been regulated by him, yet I may say, they have been directed by him to such Measures, as if they had been strictly adher'd to, by the Masters, or submitted to by the Pupils, it is reasonable to believe that the Enemies of the Dissenters had not had room to insult and expose those little Seminaries as they have done.

But that which is a standing Testimony of his Judgment is, that he *soon*, I will not say *soonest*, saw the Impossibility of erecting Academies, and entertaining Students profitably to any considerable Number, in this City especially, or in the Neighbourhood of it, without a sufficient Government supported by the Civil Magistrate, or by Laws which the Masters might be empower'd by Authority to execute, and therefore he readily acquiesc'd in the Proposal of laying aside a well-design'd Academy at *Hoxton*, and from thence forward, he was a great Promoter and encourager of a better laid Design for the making *Scotland*, to be the Center of the Education of Ministers for the Dissenters, which Design, tho' it miscarried in Part, there not appearing that steadyness in the rest of the Ministers to the Proposal, as a Thing of that Value and Moment requir'd; and that they afterwards contented themselves with

that loose and ungovern'd Method *viz.* of sending the Youth to *Edinburgh* to live at large in the City as they thought fit, and only applying themselves to the usual College Exercises and Hours, to carry on their Studies at large, without other Government than that of the Dictates of their own Inclination.

This Mr. *Williams* never approv'd of, well knowing that good Government is a principal part of the Education of Youth, and is not only a help to Instruction, but assisting to the Preservation of Vertue, Reputation, and good Conduct; that subjection infuses Principles of Modesty, Temperance and Sobriety, and assists to keep Youth out of the way of those Temptations which ordinarily attend a loose and unrestrained Life, and which they are more easily drawn into at the Age that they are usually sent to their Studies in, than at other times.

The Schemes of this well-laid Design, as they were drawn up by a Person who Mr. *Williams* consulted with, and who had lived sometime in *Scotland*, and had studyed in the University or Colleges rather at *Edinburgh*, may be abridg'd as follows.

It was found upon many Accounts that the manner of the Youths being managed at *Edinburgh* was no way equal to the Methods of their Teaching and Study. The Teaching and Direction for their Study was allow'd to be unexceptionable, and the Regents and Professors Men perfectly qualified for the Work. But two Circumstances attended the Place and the manner of the Scholars Attendance, which could by no means

means agree with the Nature of the Design, or give Satisfaction to the Parents of those Youth who should be sent thither for their Education, I mean sent thither from hence, one related to their way of Living, and the other their Studies.

1. As to their way of Living, it was no way agreeable to the Design of sending the Youth thither, that they should be left at large to live out of the College, and without Government with respect to their Morals, their Society, their Hours, and the general Deportment of themselves when not at their publick Exercises. For tho' it may be true that the Performance would be some Evidence of their Application, when from the Schools; yet, as that in the mean time restrained their Pleasures, no otherwise than as it would expose them afterward, there would be many whose Reason would scarce have Force enough with them to ballance their Inclinations to Vice, and having, except the College Hours, no other Confinement, but what must be voluntary, it would certainly occasion the ruin of many Youngmen. The *English* Youth being generally more enclin'd to Extravagancies, luxurious Living, and other loose Ways than the *Scots*, on many Accounts.

2. The second Circumstance respected their Attendance at the College, where by the Custom of the Place, there is a Recess of near four Months in the Summer, during which time, the College does not sit, the Masters keep no School Exercise, but the Students take that time to retire to their Friends: This Recess, to the Sons of
of

of the *Scots* Gentry and Nobility, is convenient enough, and is generally taken up (as above) in retiring to their Parents Houses in the Country. But to young Men who come from another Country, near Four hundred Miles distant, is extremely inconvenient, the Youth being left all that time, as it were, without Employment; and, being as before, without Government, they have all that Season, being the Summer Months, and proper to their Diversions, I say they seem to have all that Season nothing to do, but to forget what they learnt before; and have too much Liberty and Opportunity to spend both their Time and Money to the Ruine of the Design, for which they were sent thither by their Parents.

It is true, that a serious Youth who has the compleat Government of himself, and not only knows how to Employ, but how to value his Time, may employ it very profitably out of the College, and is secur'd against the Snares of an ungovern'd Life: But no Man will therefore contend that it is Prudent to give Youth their Liberty in such a Manner, and the Ruin of innumerable Children sent abroad to other Places are strong Arguments to confirm it; these were the Foundations of the following Schmes which were propos'd as well to accomodate the Colledges of *Edenborough* for the receiving *English* Youth, as for the securing the good Government of such Youth as should be sent there, and preserving them from those Liberties which might endanger their Morals. The Proposal was as follows,

First,

First, That with consent of the Magistrates of *Edenburgh*, who were supposed to be legal Visitors of the University, a sufficient Building should be erected within the College Walls (capable of being enlarged as Occasion should require) for the Reception and Entertainment of a certain number of Scholars, allowing to every Chamber Two Closets, that Two Students may if thought convenient be lodged together.

That to the Building there be also Conveniences for all the proper Officers usual in the Colleges in *England*, such as a Master, Six Fellows, or Tutors, Twelve Graduates, who may take Pupils also under them, a Steward, a Cook, and Servants in proportion, with Officers necessary, and a large Hall for the whole House, as well Masters as Students to eat in, a Chapel for Morning and Evening Prayer, a Bell to give notice according to the Orders of the House. The whole to cost about Six thousand Pounds building, to be built at the Cost of the Subscribers in *England*.

That among the standing Rules of this House, or as they may be called Laws of the Foundation, these to be some.

1. That no seperate Teachings be set up in the House, different from, or unapproved by the Principal and Professors of the whole College.
2. No publick Performances to be allow'd in this House but what are to be perform'd in the College.
3. No Degrees Commenc'd, and in short, nothing to be done by way of Teaching that shall lessen the Dependency of the Scholars upon

upon the publick Schools, or their Subjection to the Masters under whose Government the whole is entirely to remain.

4. The Master of this College to be no other than a General Governour of the House, directing the Servants, and overseeing the Conduct and Behaviour of the Scholars with respect to their Morals, but fully empowered to enforce Obedience to the Laws of the House, and therefore the Master for the time being to be always in Commission of the Peace.
5. The Steward or Treasurer to be empowered to manage the common Stock of the House to the publick Advantage, to whom every Scholar is to pay such a quarterly Payment for his Subsistence, in the Nature of Commons, as shall be establish'd, till the House may have a sufficient Stock to maintain the whole Body, and make them all Free Commoners.
6. That every Student be oblig'd to constant Residence, and not to be out of the College after Seven a Clock in the Winter, or Nine in the Summer, on such Penalties as shall be settled, and not to lie out of the College on pain of Twenty Shillings the first Night, five Pounds the second, and expulsion from the College, and Schools for the Third Offence.

During the recess of the College, The Tutors here to cause the Scholars once every Month to repeat the several Branches of Exercise they went through before, and the Minutes or Notes which

which they took of the Readings performed by their Regents, that so they may be retained in Memory; and besides this, the said recess, to be employ'd in proper Lectures, to be read once every After-noon (by the Tutors) in such Parts of needful Learning as are not particularly taught in the College; such as Geography, History, Chronology, the use of the Globes, Arithmatick, Navigation, the use of Maps and Charts, and all needful Things, that the Masters shall direct, or the Scholars desire to learn; and that may not be prejudicial to their other Studies, or inconsistent with the respective Employments, for which the said Schollars may be design'd by their Parents.

That a Subscription and Voluntary Contribution to be raised at first Quarterly, be ask'd to be made among all the Dissenters throughout *England*, for the Encouragement of the Design; and particularly for Building in the first place; and that it be recommeuded to all the Dissenters to give what Legacies they design for charitable Uses to be settled upon this College for the maintenance of the same, with this Reserve, that the whole return to their Heirs if Episcopacy shall be restored in *Scotland*.

The Charge of this Design was computed as follows, supposing it to be brought to its full perfection.

G For

For SALLARIES.

To the Master 100 <i>l.</i> per <i>Ann.</i>	100
Treasurer 100 <i>l.</i> per <i>Ann.</i>	100
Steward 60 and two Clerks 40 <i>l.</i> each	140
Housekeeper 50 <i>l.</i>	50
Six Fellows at 40 <i>l.</i> each	240
Twelve Graduates 30 <i>l.</i> each	360
Head Cook 60 <i>l.</i>	60
Buttler 40 <i>l.</i>	40
Baker 40 <i>l.</i>	40
Twelve Servants, Six to assist the Cook, Butler and Baker, each Two; the other Six to do necessary Work, cleaning the Chambers, make Beds, &c. each at 5 <i>l.</i> per <i>Annum</i> and Food	60
Their Dyet at 6 <i>l.</i> per <i>Annum</i> each	72
For the Masters Table, with whom in- clude the Six Fellows, who shall all eat there	150
For the Treasurers Table, with whom the Twelve Under Tutors or Gra- duates to Eat	300
For the Stewards Table, including the Two Clerks, and the House-Keeper	60
A Porter 20 <i>l.</i> per <i>Annum</i>	20
	1792

The whole Revenue of this Settlement was proposed to amount to 2000 *l.* per *Annum*, when compleated, and to entertain constantly Two hundred Students.

The

The House-Stock to furnish Commons to the Students at 18 *l.* per Head per *Annum*, the Gain, if any, to go to the Publick Treasure. The Tutors not to take above 4 *l.* per *Annum* of any Pupil, all Penalties, Fines and Forfeitures to be accounted to the Publick Stock of the House.

There was a Book of Statutes or Laws of the Foundation, for the Direction of all Cases that might happen after the manner of the Statutes of the several Colleges in *Cambridge*: But they are too long to insert.

Mr. *Williams* receiv'd this proposal with great Pleasure, and taking a Draught or Plan of it, he made several Amendmants to it, and was so wonderfully pleas'd, that he offer'd if it could be set on Foot, to give five hundred Pound towards it himself, and to leave it a considerable Addition at his Death; nor did he think it an improbable Design, seeing, as he said, the Beginning might be smaller, and Time would accomplish the rest by Degrees.

But the first Heat of this noble Design cool'd upon the Hands of those that were most concerned to put it forward; and it being too heavy an Undertaking to be the Work of private Men, it dropt of it self.

However, a small Beginning was made to remedy the Two Evils above mentioned, and this was by the means of a Scots Minister, who took a House in the City of *Edinburgh*, in order to set up the like Oeconomy as this of a College, only in a smaller Magnitude: he began and took a certain Number of *English* Gentlemen into the House, the Ministers here encourag'd him, and Mr. *Williams* in particular, they supplied him also with Books

for a Library, to be publick for the use of the Students, and here was at first some face of Government, and Orders were a while observ'd: But the *English* Youth soon got above his Authority, and fell into Disorder and Confusion, which put an end to it, meerly for want of the Power of Governing.

During these Things, the *Scots* of the several Universities began to be sensible how sincerely Mr. *Williams* espoused them upon all Occasions, and how willing he was at all times to serve and assist them and their Interest, and in Acknowledgment of it, and to shew the Sense they had of so much Civility; they sent him up the Diploma of his Commencement, and made him Doctor of Divinity, and from this time I am to write him Dr. *Williams*.

He was so far from seeking or expecting this Honour, that he was greatly displeased with the Occasion of it, and with great Modesty he entreated Mr. *Carstairs*, the Principal of the College at *Edinburgh* to prevent it: But the Dispatch was made before that Desire of his could reach to them; I have often heard him express his Dislike of the Thing it self, and much more his distast at the officious Vanity of some who thought they had much oblig'd him when they mov'd for the procuring it, and this, not that he despised the Honour of being a Graduate in Form in that Profession in which he was now a truly Reverend Father; nor in the least, that he refused to receive any Favours from the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, for whom he preserv'd a very great Esteem, and on many Occasions gave signal Testimonies of his Respect: But
he

he thought it savour'd of an extraordinary Vanity, that the *English* Presbyterians should accept a nominal Distinction, which the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* declin'd for themselves, and did so least it should break in upon that Parity which they so severely maintain'd; which Parity among the Ministers of the Gospel, the Presbyterians in *England* acknowledg'd also to be agreeable to that Scripture Rule, *Whosoever will be greatest among you let him be as the Younger*, Luke 22.26. and Mat. 23.8. Be not you called *Rabbi*, of which Text a learned Writer says, it should have been translated, *Be not ye called Doctors*; and the Jewish Writers and Expositors of their Law, are by some Authors stild *Jewish Rabins*, by others, and that more frequently *Doctors*, also *Rabbi Moses*, and *Rabbi Joachim*, the famous Teachers of the Jewish Law, are by the Latins stiled *Doctors* on many Occasions.

On this Subject *Dr. Williams*, for so I must now stile him, expressly said, very often in my hearing, that he would not upon any Account have had it done if he could have prevented it, and it was for no other Reason, than that he would not put an Affront upon the Ministers and the Universities of *Scotland*, that he did not refuse it, and return it: So far was he, whose Merit no one disputed, from assuming Horrors to himself, that he declin'd all the Favours which were offered him, and all the Occasions of any other Honour than that of doing Good.

I have now brought him on to the Concern he had, and which after this, never forsook him, viz. for the Interest and Advantage of the Church of *Scotland*, and the first Thing which he discovered

ed this in was, before he received the Degree of Doctor, viz. in the Year 1708, or thereabouts, when the Act of Parliament was past, requiring all the Subjects of *Britain*, who possessed any Office or Offices of Profit or Trust, &c. to take the Abjuration: This was a very unhappy stroke upon the Ministers of *Scotland*, who, tho' far enough from Principles of Jacobitism, or the least favourable Thought towards, or Inclination for the Pretender, yet for several Reasons scrupled the taking that Oath of Abjuration, and for other Reasons, claimed of right to be exempted from it: The Case abridg'd into as narrow Compass as I can, to render it intelligible, is as follows.

1. Some scrupled multiplying Oaths, and that having already taken the Oath of Fidelity to the King, there could be no Reason assign'd why they should swear the same Thing over again, that all the solemnity of an Oath was lost by the frequent Repetition, and that it was a Maxim in the Civil Law and in Divinity also, that every Oath that is lawfully imposed must be in Things Profitable, Lawful, and necessary: That this Oath wanted the first and the last, seeing an Oath of Fidelity to King *George*, effectually oblig'd every honest Man to do and perform all that was requir'd by the Oath of Allegiance, that no Man could bear Faith and true Allegiance to King *George*; But he did *ipso facto* renounce, refuse, and abjure the Pretender, and all his Pretences of, or claim to, a right of Succession to the Crown, as effectually and as fully as could be, by any Oath expres'd in other Words,

which

which for that reason they said it was unlawful to take.

2. Others, and whose Scruples seem'd to be more weighty, and of more Moment by far, scrupled the Terms of the Oath, and this was upon a Religious Point, which few of our People in *England* understood, or had any Notion of, viz. that they were to promise to maintain and defend the Limitations of the Crown, as settled by several Acts of Parliament in *England*, which Acts are recited in the Act of Settlement.

Now one of the Limitations of the Successor in those Acts of Parliament referred to is, that *he shall be of the Communion of the Church of England*, to this the *Scots* Ministers answered thus, " We do not expect or concern our selves to suggest, that any Successor to the Crown should be a Presbyterian : But if such a Thing should offer, it would be very hard to have us that are Presbyterians, swear to exclude the Successor because he was of our own Profession, this would be to forswear what by Principle we ought to desire, and is therefore inconsistent with our Principles, and consequently by the 22d Article of the Treaty of Union, ought not to be required of us seeing that Article expressly says that no Oath shall be imposed upon us contrary to our Principles.

There was no reasonable Man, but upon a full Information, and clear Understanding of these Circumstances, acquitted the *Scots* Ministers of all that which others call'd Obstinacy and Needless Scruple, when they consider'd them. But as the Doctor observ'd, it was the hardest Thing in the World to make them understand the Case thorowly

ly, and great Prejudices were received against the People in *Scotland* for refusing to abjure the Pretender : as if they had done it from Principles of Disaffection to the Government and the Protestant Succession.

The Doctor took inexpressible Pains in this Matter, and went a great way to undeceive all People who he was any way concern'd with; but the Prejudice went farther; and when this Oath came to be farther enforced in Parliament, and to be extended to almost all sorts of People, it went very near being strictly enjoyn'd at that time upon the Ministers in *Scotland*, which if it had, would have made great Confusions in *Scotland*: I say, upon this Occasion, the Doctor was particularly stirring, and went personally to some great Lords, in order to engage them to concern themselves for the preventing it; but he fail'd in the Success there, finding them as insensible of the Concern the Government had in the quiet of that Country, as they were ignorant of the fatal Consequences of dividing the Publick Interest there. However, he left it not there, but joyning with a Private Gentleman, tho' very well known, for his Acquaintance with the Affairs of *Scotland*, and his Affection to that Church, they try'd other Friends with better Success.

For they averted that blow by earnestly recommending it to the Patronage of the late Earl of *Godolphin* then Lord Treasurer, and by his Lordships Assistance, got the Ministers dropt silently out of the Act then preparing, and so was an effectual Means to prevent the Mischief which attended the *Scotts* Ministers; a Thing which was
of

said Ministers now want a Friend equally capable, and equally zealous for the Good of *Scotland*, to act over again for them, under an Administration from which no such hardship was expected.

The next thing the Doctor concern'd himself in, with respect to the Affairs of *Scotland*, was at the recommendation of the same Person who assisted him in the last recited Articles and tho' it was true that the Church of *Scotland* was some ways concern'd in it, yet the Dissenters in *England* ought rather to call it their Affair; for the Benefit, had it been effected, would principally have been their own. This Case, *which has some Nicery also in it*, was thus,

The *Scots*, who in the exact execution of the Discipline of their Church, out-do all the World, are particularly Nice in the Affair of admitting their young Ministers to preach, but especially in the Article of their Ordination: In pursuing any Charge brought against their Ministers for scandalous Crimes they are very exact. In which Cases they have two things also particular to themselves, which by the way it were well all the Protestant Churches in the World would imitate them in. (*Viz.*) That no Man is admitted a Minister, but after a critical Examination into his Conversation, and good Testimonials of a spotless Character, as well as severe Tryals of his Learning and Parts, nor then, *or at all*, if any slur lie upon his Character till he is acquitted upon the severest Inquisition of the particulars.

2. That if any ordain'd benefic'd Minister is Convicted of Scandal, he is for ever Deposed,

H

and

and can be no more receiv'd again, were his Penitence the most sincere and unquestioned that could be imagined : He may on his publick Repentance, and evident Tokens of Reformation be restored and receiv'd into Communion as a Christian, but never as a Minister, 'tis to no purpose to attempt it, he is for ever useless in that Country. This is mentioned here for the following Reasons, (*viz.*) 1. If it falls out, *as too often is the Case*, that a young Student has committed some Follies, so as that he fears he shall not pass the exact Scrutiny which he knows the Presbytery he belongs to will make upon his insuing Tryals.

2. Or if he find himself deficient in his Studies, and that he has not a stock of Learning fit to undergoe the severe Tryals which he knows he must pass before the Ministers.

3. Or if any Minister already Ordained, is Convicted of Scandal, and deposed.

4. Or if one be under the Charge, and finds himself cited, or that he shall be cited, and prosecuted before the Church Judicatures, the Consequence of which he knows, if he is Guilty.

In all these Cases, the immediate Course such People take, is to fly to *England*, and here, to bring this Case home to us, such has been the ill Conduct of the Dissenters Congregations, or of their Ministers, or perhaps of both, that these fugitive Ministers thus coming to *England*, to avoid the Justice of the Church of *Scotland*, have been receiv'd, assisted, imploy'd, and too much encouraged here. That without inquiring from *Scotland*, what their Characters have been, what the Occasion of their coming away, and whe-
ther

ther they have been admitted to preach there? Or in a word, whether they are not Fugitives of the Place? refused by the Ministers there, rejected and cast off, either for Scandal or Insufficiency: These, I am sorry to say it, have been admitted here, too unwairily, even to be Pastors of Congregations, without Mission, nay without Ordination, but barely by the hearing them Preach; by which means, many most ignorant, and some impudent Wretches, have been suffered here, who have afterwards discover'd themselves by their Vices, to the reproach of the Dissenters; and some of them have turn'd violent Enemies to the Disseners who have thus receiv'd them.

This the Ministers in *Scotland* being also desirous to remedy, had, by the application of that third Person above mention'd, entered into Measures with Dr. *Williams*, for preventing the mischief. But the Death of the Reverend Mr. *Carstairs*, Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, and some time after that the Death of the Doctor, put an end to that useful Design.

The Method propos'd was this, (*viz.*) That no Minister, or Probationer for the Ministry, coming from *Scotland* into *England*, should be admitted to Preach, be Ordain'd, or have any Pastoral Charge committed to him, unless he produced Testimonials from *Scotland* first, from the Presbytery of the bounds in which he liv'd, sign'd by their Moderator, importing the Sobriety of his Conversation, and that his Character was untainted. And Secondly, from the Principal, or the Professor in Divinity of the College, sign'd by there hands, where he perform'd his

Studies, importing his sufficiency of Learning; and it was desir'd that this should be communicated to all the Dissenting Congregations in *England*.

How far this may have been put in practice since, I cannot take upon me to inquire. But the need there has been of it, and the ill Consequences of the want of such a Method, have been too well known among the Dissenters, and the Concern this was to Dr. *Williams*, was a farther Testimony of his extraordinary Affection for the Honour of Religion in general, and for the Honour and Interest of the Dissenters in particular.

Thus far I have traced the Doctor thro' his publick Business, which was always such, and requir'd so much Time and Attendance, as one would think should much interrupt his Ministerial Work: But the contrary was true of him to an extream; and notwithstanding these Hurries, this was to be said of him, that he was constant in all the necessary Avocations of his Ministerial Office. No distress'd poor Man wanted his Alms, or distress'd sick Man his Visit; all his public Embarrassments did not cause him to shun the Pulpit, or to miss the ordinary Business of the Congregation which he had the Charge of: But there he still was to be found upon all needfull Occasions. Nay, with such prudence did he order his attendance on public Affairs, that he was very seldom miss'd out of the Pulpit, when it was his turn to be there, either in his own Assembly, or in other places; neither did he huddle over his Words as if he wanted to be gone, but rather on the contrary extream, he
scarce

scarce knew when to leave off; and would rather have been tiresome to his Hearers by his length. Only that his preaching was such, that it was hardly possible that any one could be tired with it; if any could, it must be such as had very little sense of the substance of any Preaching at all, or any taste even of Religion it self.

His way of Preaching, his method, and the matter of his Discourse, were equal to the prudence of his Management in other Things. And he preached as he liv'd, with a suited Zeal for the Cause he embark'd in, and a suited Zeal for the Substance of the Doctrines he deliver'd.

It is true he did not write much, this was the only thing in which it might be said, that his application to public Things seem'd to invade his Studies. But as his public Engagements were always such as concern'd the Interest of Religion in general, and the Interest of the Dissenters in *England* and *Scotland* in particular. Posterity will reap the Fruit of his Labours, in a manner perhaps equal to what they would have done, had he left many Volumes behind him for Example.

Those many Congregations of Dissenters which by his means have been established, and Ministers in remote parts, which by his Direction have been settled, and additional Maintenances supplied to them. These are all Volumes of his Works, and if succeeding Ages have in many places preaching Ministers among them, where they had never any before, those Preachings are so far a part of his Works, they are Seals of his Ministry, and may be equal to many Volumes of Sermons published, which the

Rich

Rich may not want, and the Poor cannot buy; for certainly erecting Churches or Congregations, and introducing the knowlege of Religion, where before it was not, is in a kind, a preaching to those People; and indeed, is in it self, preaching up a noble Example to others, to exercise the same publick Spirit. And it were to be wish'd that all Christ's Ministers would rather apply themselves to spreading Christian Knowlege by such living Volumes, and by planting the Ministers of the Gospel in the dark Corners of the Land, where God knows Ignorance abounds, and the knowlege of God is scarce receiv'd, than leave their Works in heavy Manuscripts behind them, which many times spread no farther than the hands of their immediate Executors; and if they are printed, carry an Expence with them, which is generally a Bar to keep poor Families from them; whereas daily Preaching is carrying Instruction home to the Doors of the poorest, and Ministers placed in remote Corners, have innumerable unknown and unforeseen Opportunities of doing good to the Souls of Men, and a succession of preaching Ministers, is a Fountain of Instruction to the end of Time, which Books can never outlast, neither be in those particular Cases any equivalent to.

So that it is easy to prove his Life was by far more useful in the manner wherein he exerted himself, than it could have been by leaving behind him the most voluminous Tracts of Divinity that the same number of Years might have been supposed to be imploy'd in; and yet his Life has not been barren, even in those things,

things. particularly in several very useful Sermons upon Funeral Occasions, and in such Manuscripts as are yet to be found in his Library.

Nor was his applying himself to this best part of a publick Spirit, a Token of any backwardness to other Applications, Studies, or the like: But an Evidence that he was a good Judge of what it was in which he was able to be most useful; and that he knew how to make the greatest Advantage of the Opportunities God had put into his Hand. For his being thus at the Head of the Dissenters Affairs, as above, furnished him with superior Advantage for this part of the Work, above other Ministers, and above what, if it had not been so, he himself would have had, and all those he imploy'd to the utmost.

His Zeal for the Advantage of the Dissenters Ministry, is a sufficient Testimony of his Zeal for their Interest; he was deeply sensible of the difficulty of supplying the Congregations with a Race of Men equal to those who are gone before them, and the loss it is to their Interest that it is so, occasion'd by their wanting the opportunity of Public Schools and Universities, which the best of their private Academies was by no means equal to. He saw plainly the disadvantages the Students and Proficients of the Dissenters lay under for want of Public Libraries; and of the advantages of Dissections and public Readings or Lectures, as it is in the Colleges and Universities, and especially the disability of most of the young Ministers to furnish themselves with Books, on account of the Expence of it.

The

+ mark well the whole relating
to the Doctor's noble institution
of a Public Library for Prot. Dissenters.

The sense he had of these Things, and the earnest desire he had to remedy them, as they occasioned his leaving his extraordinary Library, to be as a public Gift for the use of the Dissenters; together with an annual Salary for a Library-keeper, and Money to buy or build a House for the Deposit, in such a place, as may be proper for the resort of the Ministers to it on all Occasions, as may be seen by his Will. So on the other hand, it shew'd a sincere Concern upon his Mind, to deliver the Dissenters as far as possible, from the Disadvantages they were under on that account, for there is a manifest difference between complaining of the want of Books, and giving a Thousand Pounds to supply it.

I need say nothing of his Collection of Books more than this, that as he wanted neither Money to purchase, nor Judgment to chuse them, we cannot doubt but his Collection is very valuable, as well as very large. But the following Circumstance will serve to give any one an *Idea* of what a Library it must be (*viz.*) That besides his one whole Collection, which was very considerable, he had the opportunity of buying the compleat Library of that Learned and Polite, as well as Reverend Divine, Dr. *Bates*, which Library, as it cost the said Dr. *Bates* a great many hundred Pounds more in Collecting, so Dr. *Williams*, as I have been told, gave between five and six hundred Pounds for them at second hand, all which, together with his own Collection, are given and appointed by his Will as a public Library, for the use of the Dissenting Ministers and Students, and for the Reasons

sons aforeſaid, a Gift not only valuable in it ſelf, but ſuch as teſtifies the Doctor's Zeal for the Intereſt of the Diſſenters, in a manner that has but very few Preſidents. I have been told that the Doctor deſign'd to recommend it to the Diſſenters to leave Legacies to the ſaid Library, either in Books or Money, to buy ſuch new and valuable Books, as ſhall come out after his Decease, that ſo the Collection may go on, and alſo to buy any ſcarce Books or Manuſcripts, which he could not come at, and which may offer in time, that may be valuable and uſeful for the deſign of improving the young Miniſters in their Studies; which recommendation, if it be followed, may in time render this the compleateſt Library in *Britain*.

And were it not a kind of Digression from the History of his Life, it would not be a useless application of his design, to lay before the Dissenters the advantage of such a thing, for the future instructing of their young Students and Ministers, and private Persons. How the advantage would return to the Dissenters with very good Interest, in the Accomplishment and Education of their Youth, and the taking away the reproach which some have pretended to cast upon them, for default of their Education.

Dr. Williams, who always exerted himself to support the Reputation, as well as the Interest of the Dissenters, shewed in this, that he had as much Judgment to know what was wanting to them, as Affection to supply it; and his Legacy of Books to their use, may justly be stil'd Inestimable, because really it is impossible to express fully what the Benefit *may be,*

may *must be*, in time to come, to the Dissenters in general, by their young Students being thus encouraged in their Studies, and the want of Books thus made up to them, which as above, was till now, the great Deficiency among them, meaning those especially, who wanted Money to furnish themselves.

Even those who had helps to supply their Studies, and who wanted not Money to buy Books, yet even they will have some Advantage from this Gift; since it may be supposed they cannot all be said to have had a right judgment in choosing and collecting their Books: Whereas an exact acquaintance with the Catalogue of this Library, and free access to see and peruse those Books which are most valuable, and most necessary to be had, would direct them what to buy, as well as what to read; and would shew them how to collect Books to their Advantage, which is a knowledge few are Masters of, and is the occasion that we see Men amass heaps of Books to make a show in a young Study, which a Polite Reader would not give a place among his Books, and which perhaps they themselves, never gave themselves the trouble to look over.

All the Injury to Learning from these Things, is now taken away by this generous Gift, and the Youth design'd for the Ministry among the Dissenters, are now furnish'd in such a manner, that as their Enemies cannot reproach them with want of helps to their Studies, and particularly with want of Books; it's hoped they will leave them no room to reproach them with
want

want of making due Improvement of the Advantage.

But to return to the Doctor: As his whole strength and study in the more active part of his Life, was laid out in supporting the Interest of the Dissenters in the particular Cases which lay then before them, and which were in his view; so the latter part of his Life was applied to the study of establishing their general Interest.

He was seriously concerned at the many Delusions put upon the Dissenters, with respect to the taking off the force of the penal Laws, which tie up their Consciences, and the depriving them of the Privileges common to their Country, as *English Men*. If ever he was wrong in his Calculations and Guesses, with respect to the great things promised to the Dissenters, it was now; for tho' it is most true that he always believed the People who promised so largely to the Dissenters would at last fail them; yet at this time he seemed to stagger in his Opinion, and to believe something would be done for them in the beginning of this Reign. It is true, he did not live to see himself mistaken, which was his happiness: But he saw some reasons to fear it, even at that distance of time, and the Dissenters have since experienced to their cost, that his fears were too just.

But whatever his hopes were of the Dissenters having Justice with them, he seem'd plainly in all he did, to arm for them against a Mis-carriage; this is particularly seen in the making provision, that in Case the Church of *Scotland* should be at any time supplanted, his Legacy

to the College of *Glasgow* should descend to his own Heirs.

Now it cannot be deny'd, but that the Establishment of the Church of *Scotland* is much firmer, and better fix'd, than the Tolleration in *England*; and if he fear'd the shaking that Establishment, and the return of Episcopacy there, much more ought he to apprehend the Solidity of our Liberty here, which he knew on the one hand, was not only often attack'd by vigilant Enemies among a contrary Party, but had been but too faintly espoused, even by those who had call'd themselves Friends.

He saw in the first place, as to *Scotland*, that the Church there was Establish'd, humanly speaking, but upon the prevalency of the Whig Government in *England*, and that notwithstanding the Treaty of Union had secur'd an unalterable Settlement to the Church, as far as Words and Laws, Acts of Parliament, and the most solemn Engagements of the Powers then in being could make it unalterable: Yet as the practice of the late Reign evidently discovered all those Fortifications would be demolished, when ever a High-Church Administration should take place in *England*, and the most sacred and solemn Engagements trampled under Foot; and then it may be true that this might not be done in a direct and literal Dissolution of the Treaty, yet as there were already open, and even avowed Violations of that Union in the Church Affairs; such as that of the Right of Patronages, the Yule Vacance, the Liberty of the Service-book, the Imposing Oaths upon the Presbyterians contrary to their Principles, and the

the like, it could be no longer doubted but the farther Incroachment which would have been made by the Episcopal Party, and which indeed they openly threatned the Establish'd Church with, would in time have been equivalent to an entire dissolution and overthrow of the Church it self; and this was the rather to be feared, because which was too apparent, even the Nobility and Gentry of that Country had a warm side to the Episcopal Church, or at least to any Church which would most connive at, and least concern themselves with the open Cause of vitious living, which the Gentry too much followed, and which the Presbyterian Government have taken upon them to disturb them in.

These things, I say, the Doctor was fully acquainted with: He knew very well, that had not the Union interven'd, and which was carried on rather by the Influence of *English* Councils, than *Scots* Inclinations, and which was complied with there, on private and civil Prospects, rather than Religious. I say, that had not the Union interven'd, by which the two Nations are now ingag'd to maintain the Kirk of *Scotland*, that same Kirk would in process of Time, and that not much Time neither, have certainly been overthrown even by her own Nobility and Gentry.

These things Dr. *Williams* being perfectly acquainted with, there is no wonder that he made use of such precautions in his Will, that if Episcopacy should take place again in *Scotland*, his Gift should cease from the uses determin'd, and revert to the other uses assign'd in his Will.

The

The like distrust, I say, he had as to the continuance of the present Liberty of the Dissenters in *England*, especially during the many Turns of the late Reign, in which, tho' the Politic Measures of the Court guided them always to keep the Dissenters as easy as was for their turn, and to speak them fair, yet as the Doctor often said, the Dissenters could not but see that what they enjoy'd, was owing to the Policy, rather than the Affection of the Great Men in the Government; and that even the best Men among them, seem'd to *speak them fair, but lov'd them not*: And therefore it was always with good Grounds that he carried about with him a constant jealousy of the design of the High Party against the Dissenters, and believ'd their Liberty very precarious, however promised, and those Promises repeated something publickly.

It was but a little while past, and could not be out of his Memory, that notwithstanding repeated Promises from the Throne of preserving the Toleration inviolable, he saw the Occasional Bills brought into the House of Commons, and push'd on their with the greatest vehemence, as has been observed already, and even when those Bills miscarried, the Doctor very well observed that they were opposed from politic Principles, and with Party Views, not from any Zeal for Religion, or Love to the Dissenters; and therefore it was always his Opinion, that some time or other, the Party would break in at that Door, and the Dissenters would be ruin'd in meer Zeal to the Church, if not now, at some time hereafter, new Enemies rising every Day.

This

This he liv'd to see push'd to the utmost Extremity, and the Party that could not bring the Queen to destroy the Tolleration, went a new way to work (*viz.*) To discover the Thing it self, and not allow that there was *any Tolleration at all*, and that all the Dissenters had to pretend to, was, that there was an Act passed indeed to restrain the prosecution formerly used against them, that they were EXEMPTED indeed from certain Penalties, but not Tollerated in the least, but as the Doctor very well observed, this new Distinction being found out, the Queen, who fell in with Dr. Sacheverel's Party in a visible manner, fell in also with that Distinction, and was never heard to use the Word *Tolleration* in any of her Speeches after that time.

What was the Consequence of these things, and how the Dissenters were trampled upon every way, is too fresh in the Memory of every Man, that gives such things any room in his Thoughts: As particularly, how the *High-Church* falling in with the *Jacobite* Party in a cursed Design of overthrowing the Protestant Succession, and the settlement of the Crown upon the now Royal House of *Hannover*. The Friends of that Succession were oblig'd to give up the Dissenters Interest, in order to ingage the strength of such Members of the High Party as were less desperate, and less willing to give up their Country to a Popish Successor: I say, the Friends of the Protestant Interest were obliged to come into the Occasional Bill as a Preliminary, and as is said before, the Circumstances of the Dissenters was such, as that this Bill *was to be brought in by those very Persons, who had before been*
the

the Bulwarks against it. pag. 25. How the Doctor indeavoured to preserve the Temper of the Dissenters under such a sensible Stroke, ought never to be forgotten by the Dissenters, and how chearfully the Dissenters yielded up themselves; how silently they bore the Oppression ought also never to be forgotten by those who brought that upon them, and some have said it should never be forgotten. But I must acknowlege Dr. *Williams* was of the Mind it would be forgotten, and we cannot say it has not by some, tho' perhaps not by all those that were then concerned in it.

When this terrible Blow was struck, Dr. *Williams* was living, tho' declining in his Health: but as his Judgment remain'd clear to the last, he saw the Party would not stop there, and from that time, without pretending to Prophecy, he predicted that the Party who had so easily gain'd that Point this way, which they had so long and so often struggled for in vain another way, would not fail to push at farther restraints upon the Dissenters, till they should at last bring their real *Tolleration*, to a bear *Exemption*, indeed, scarce that. For as he very well observ'd, the Occasional Bill was a Penal Law, and actually laid on several Penalties upon the Dissenters, which they were never under before; as particularly those Penalties in case any Man who had once imbark'd in any public Employment, should be seen at a Meeting, tho' only to hear a Sermon, nay, though it were only a Funeral Sermon, and the like.

In this his Judgment was very well pointed, seeing it was not long after this that the Schism
Bill

Bill pass'd, whereby the Dissenters, in a Word, are in effect, depriv'd of the Education of their own Children, and of the securing to themselves a Succession of Ministers, to carry on the work of Preaching the Gospel to the Ages to come: The first of these, by forbidding any of the Dissenters to Instruct Children, or Teach School; and the last, by suppressing the private Academies of the Dissenters.

It was with a great deal of Insolence from the High Party, that the Dissenters were told, that the Act of *Exemption*, so they called the *Tolleration*, was given indeed in Clemency to the present Body of such Dissenters as were really scrupulous in Conscience, and could not Conform to the Church; but that it was not intended thereby, that they should be allowed to propagate the Schism to the next Generation, and preserve their Opinion to their Posterity.

Dr. *Williams*, often with regret, reflected upon the weakness of the Dissenters at the Revolution, who when the Temper the High-Church Men were reduced, was such, as inclined them to yield to whatever in Reason could be desired, could be so forgetful of their Posterity, as to accept of their own meer liberty of Worshipping God, and leave their Children to struggle for the Continuance of it, as if their Children were supposed to have no Concern in it, or were not to have the Liberty of Serving God after the Pattern of their Fathers.

This Defect indeed the Dissenters have reason to lament, for assuredly, when the Glorious King *William*, a Patron of Liberty both Civil and Religious, had came to consider the Justice of the

Dissenters demand of a Tolleration, and willingly agreed to it, his Majesty would not have thought it unreasonable, to have allowed them Schools for their Posterity, and means to continue them a Succession of Gospel Ministers, who should continue to hand down the Truth and the Doctrines they profess'd, to receive to their Posterity after them. And it cannot be deny'd, but that it was an unaccountable Omission in the Dissenters at that time, tho' it has been insinuated too, that they were abused in it, and that those Clauses which should have secur'd the Points mention'd above, were clandestinely left out of the Bill, after the Dissenters Draft of an Act was perus'd by them, and approved by their Friends.

But if this had been true, as I do not vouch, yet it is most certain, that the Friends of the Dissenters, at that time, ought to have complain'd, and ought to have apply'd themselves to the King, who it was well known, was ever inclin'd to do them Justice.

Thus stood the state of the Dissenters Liberty at the Death of the late Queen, under the powerful Depredations of the late Reign, which if it had continued much longer, would certainly have disown'd the Dissenters, forget all their Promises of inviolably maintaining the Tolleration; and as they had in a few Years shrunk the *Tolleration* into a meer *Exemption*, would have caused that *Exemption* to have dwindled away into a Shadow of Law, and left the Dissenters to the Cruelty of their Enemies tender Mercy, and caused them to enjoy what Liberty they should have, from the meer Clemency of the *Tories*. Dr.

Dr. *Williams* was Inconsoable for the Dissenters all that Reign, he foresaw nothing but ruin attending their Circumstances, and was full of sad Thoughts about them; when in an unexpected Hour, and in the very Article of Destruction, for it is evident the ruin of the Dissenters was concluded, I say, in an unexpected Hour, and to the astonishment of the Party, the Queen dyed.

This overthrew all their Projects, as well for a Popish Pretender, as a Protestant Tyranny, and the High-Church Men sunk at once into Despair, turn'd Malecontents, and at length rebels. This *coupe d' Eclat* as it came directly from Heaven, so the Doctor ascrib'd the Glory, and directed his Praises all thither. Nor was his Joy greater for that Change on any Account, more than that he thought that once more the time was come, when the Glory of Protestant Liberty should shine, without being Eclips'd by the Party Clausés and Restraints which the secret Enemies of Religion should lay in its way. But he soon saw reason to say, that even under all this Felicity, the Spirit of Imposition and Persecution had taken such deep Root among some People, that some difficulty would be always started, to obstruct the best Designs in the Dissenters Favour: That the danger of the Church would be thrown in the Teeth of all those that offered to appear for them, and whoever shew'd himself forward to serve the Cause of Religion, should be branded as an Enemy to the Church.

In this we all know now, how right his Judgment was, and how just his Arguments, and the Event has confirm'd it, by reason we have seen

those Gentlemen on whom the Dissenters chief Dependance was, fly not in the Face of all their own Engagements to the Dissenters only, but even of all their Engagements to King GEORGE and his Government also, and face about to the *Tories*.

As I observ'd before, it was Dr. *William's* Happiness not to live to see this fatal Blow to the Dissenters Expectations, he would indeed have seen his Opinion of the Promises made them to have been confirmed, but that would have been very far from being any Consolation to a Heart anxious for the general Interest, and most affectionately attach'd to the whole Body of the Dissenters.

It is true, that those Doubts and Apprehensions of his, concerning the Sincerity of the Dissenters Friends, were entertained, as well since King GEORGE's Accession to the Crown, as before. But this did not in the least diminish his Satisfaction in that Accession, and his Joy at the Establishment of an Illustrious and Protestant Race upon the Throne. He had been too long overwhelm'd with fear of a prevailing Jacobite Interest, and the threatening Projects of Men vested with Power to act, and without the restraint of Principles to act by, for the Security of their Country's Liberty, and for the Safety of the Protestant Religion: I say, he had been too long loaded with the just Apprehensions from such things, to be unmov'd at the Security we all enjoy, by the entrance of a Mighty and Experienc'd Prince upon the Administration of Affairs, supported by strong Alliances, immense Wealth, untainted Reputation, justly with this Accession made the Terror
of

of Popery, the Refuge of oppress'd Princes, and the Arbiter of *Europe*.

He look'd with the more Satisfaction upon these things, in that he saw a clear disposition of Providence to our Deliverance, acting in all those things, and however he might fear that the Dissenters should not obtain, yet, the compleat Liberty which they hop'd for: His Joy however at the general Deliverance of the Nation from Popery and Tyranny, in which the Dissenters had their share in common with the rest of the Kingdom, was not at all diminished, and therefore it was observ'd, he was upon all Occasions ready to express that Joy, by all the Methods becoming his Station and Years, and consistent with that serious Gravity which dwelt upon all his Behaviour, and which Grac'd his Conversation in a manner almost inimitable; I say, he fail'd not in his way, to express his Joy at the Accession of the House of *Hanover* being possess'd of the Crown, and even to distinguish himself in doing so above other Men, I mean above other Men of his Years and Profession.

Nor was this Joy of his, founded meerly on the Account of the Deliverance which the coming of King GEORGE brought to the Civil and Religious Constitution of *Great-Britain*: But he was of a truly Publick Spirit in his Joy, and had his Eye on the general Advantages which he foresaw accrued by it to all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, and especially to all the Protestant Kingdoms and States in Christendom.

He was not so little acquainted with, or unconcern'd about the Affairs of *Europe*, but that he saw, and with regret observ'd, how the Protestant

testant Interest in general was weakned by the Defection and Apostacy of their Princes, and that if it went on much farther, the Ballance between the Religious Interest of Christendom would run great Risque of being quite overthrown. He foretold long before, what we see now but lately brought to pass, viz. That the Electoral Prince of *Saxony*, would, by the Persuasions and Politicks of his Father, and the Artifices of the *Jesuites*, be drawn into Popery, and that Electoral House be thereby wholly carried off from the Protestant Interest, as well as Religion, as the ancient Palatine House has been. He often enquir'd what was become of the Protestant Religion in the *Palatinate*, since the House of *Newburgh* came to the Government there, what Figure they make in the Body of Protestants in *Germany*; are they not rather, *said he*, in a persecuted, than in a flourishing Condition, and what will be the Figure the Electorate of *Saxony* may be likely to make in a few Years, under a Succession of Popish Sovereigns. This Proffer is indeed Blacker now than ever, the Electoral Prince having actually declar'd himself, and the Duke of *Saxzeitz*, another Prince of the same House, having likewise abjur'd the Protestant Religion, and reconcil'd himself to the Church of *Rome*, and we now see the Illustrious House of *Saxony*, which was once the Bulwark and Barrier of the Protestant Religion in *Germany*, in a very precarious Posture unto Religion, the Princes dropping off one after another into Popery, and into an Interest, not only opposite to, but even destructive of the very
Being

Being of Religion in *Germany*, and consequently in all Christendom.

This, as it was all foreseen by Dr. *Williams*, was, as I have said, a secret and reserv'd addition to his Joy, at the Accession of King GEORGE to the Throne of *Great-Britain*, over and above the Inferences hedrew from thence, to the Advantage of these Kingdoms in particular, and this was, as I have boserv'd, the Consequence of his truly Public Spirit, and a Testimony that he not only had the Cause of Religion at Heart, but really understood it. Nor is it any Flattery to his Memory, to make this Digression upon his being capable of Judging in these Things, above most Men; for he not only understood the History, but indeed the Interests, of almost all the Powers and seperate Bodies of People in *Europe* perfectly well, and how they stood in respect to one another; a Thing, which many have pretended to, with very little just Ground for such pretence, and which indeed, few, very few have attain'd.

This knowlege of the Affairs, and Interests of Foreign Princes and Powers, made him still the more perfect Judge of those of his own Country; and tho' he was far from an officious meddling with Matters of State, either in Conversation, or otherwise; yet when he was oblig'd to concern himself, none did it better, and there are but few to come after him, that will pretend to do it so well.

This Knowlege also of the Affairs and Interests of Foreign Princes and Powers, made his Conversation most agreeably Instructing: He was himself a School, and to hear him Discourse,

course, was indeed to sit at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, in such Things as those; for he taught the true Principles of Policy, viz. Always to espouse the true Interest of his Country, and not tie it down to this or that Party. In a Word, he was the Tutor of all those that apply'd themselves to him; he taught the *Hot-Men* Moderation, and the *Cold-Men* Zeal, and instructed all that came in his way, how to behave themselves in the Difficulties of so many Changes in the Face of public Affairs as happen'd in his Time.

His peculiar Satisfaction in the present Establishment respected *Ireland*. That Kingdom had always a large share in his Concern, and his Affections were in an extraordinary Manner engag'd to them. He had seen their Circumstances in the time of the late King *James*, and as he used to express himself, had seen how nothing but the Folly and Infatuation of the *Irish* themselves, prevented the utter Extirpation of the *English*, and of the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom; and these were his Notions; it cannot be remote from the purpose, while we are speaking of the Doctor, with respect to his Publick Conduct and his Politicks, and which he was so eminent, I say, it cannot but be to the purpose, to mention what has been so much the Subject of Observation, in those who had the Advantage to converse with him.

He fled from *Ireland* hither, as has been observ'd, the Reason was evident, besides those mention'd already of his Personal Danger. For no Man that understood the State of that miserable Kingdom at that Time, could have doubted but that the *English*, and the Protestants of that
King-

Kingdom, must have been entirely swallowed up; and if not Massacred, as in 1641, yet that they should have been stript of all, plundered, and even Translated from the Country.

No Man could imagin, said the Doctor, that *Tyrconnel*, who had at one Time Sixty Thousand Men in Arms, and was Master of all the Kingdom, *London-Derry* and *Inniskilling* excepted, should, as he did, sit still with a raw Army of meer *Irish*, and leave the Wealth of the whole Country in the Hands of the Protestants, while his Army was paid with Copper Half-Pence, for Half-Crowns. That when he saw *England* and *Scotland*, as one Man, turn Popery out of Doors, plunder the Roman Catholics, mob the Houses and Parks of the Nobility and Gentry, and form the Revolution with so high a Hand as they then did, that the Papists in *Ireland* should sit still, and content themselves with having the Protestants at their Mercy, and make no retalliation upon them, but only wait, as it might be said, to have King *William* prepare his Army to come over and Defeat them, which was not till near Eight Months neither.

He expected, and so indeed would any one in their Wits, that the Protestants, as they were generally fled out of the open Countries, should have been all seiz'd on in the Cities, have at least a general Order to depart the Kingdom in so many Days, the Heads of the richest Families taken up for Pledges or Reprisal for the Popish People in *Britain*, and oblig'd to ransom themselves at the Expençe of their Wealth; this was what, compar'd to a Massacre, would have been a merciful usage, and by which, the

Reconquering that Kingdom, would have been made tenfold more difficult than it was.

As it is true, that the *Irish* Souldiery was very contemptible, and that the *English* were infinitely encourag'd by that in particular, to make those bold Stands at *Inniskilling* and *London-De* so that had King *James* or his Council seen what was their proper Work, they ought to have brought over 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse to the *French* Forces, and have sent the King to *France* as many *Irish* in their room, which the *French* King would have been glad of, and which they could very well have spar'd, even to the over. Had this been done, the *Inniskilling* might have stood their Ground, *D* would have been taken Sword in Hand, within about five Days open Trenches: None but the Infatuated Councils, would have let a little fortified, sorry, and indeed scarce defended Place, hold out four Months, and baffle 20000 Men.

Nor after all this, would the Victory at *Boyn* have come so cheap as it did, or the City of *Dublin* have come back unplunder'd into Protestant Hands: But on the contrary, King *William's* General would have been fought with at *Dunkirk*, and that Army that was reduc'd to less than 6000 Men, by Sickness, and want of all Things, would never have been suffer'd to retreat in the Face of 44000 *Irish*, and not to be Attack'd.

These Things Dr. *Williams* saw, and ascribes nothing but a Miracle, and an Infatuation to Heaven could account for those Things, so that common Understanding could have expected

them, or could have believ'd, that such a Kingdom so entirely possess'd and endued, as that was, under the Popish Powers of those Times, could have avoided being entirely ruin'd.

If these were the just and rational Expectations of those who best understood the State of Things in *Ireland* at the Time of the Revolution, what must their Apprehensions be, when they saw the Measures which were taking to model the same Kingdom, and to bring them by subtle and politic Steps, into the Hands of a Civil Administration, prepar'd to give them all up into the Hands of Popery again. I say, what must Dr. Williams expect, when he saw the Protestant Army going to be put into the Hands of Papists or Jacobites; and the Patriots of the Revolution trampled under Foot. Could he do less than expect the Papists should at last get all into their own Hands again, and have another Cast for it, another Opportunity to recover what they lost the opportunity of before, by their Mistakes? And that as they were now grown more politick by their Losses, so they would not be Fools enough to shew the Protestants so much dangerous Mercy as they did before, or to run the hazard by their Clemency, of miscarrying a second time.

By how much clearer a View the Doctor had of these Things in *Ireland*, at the latter end of the last Reign, by so much the more did the Deliverance endear to him, and to all that saw with his Eyes, the Royal Family of *Hannover*, and the Accession of King GEORGE, by whom the Scale of Affairs in *Ireland*, as well as in *England*, and infinitely more, was as effectually

chang'd, as they were once before at the Battle of the *Boyn*.

Nor was Dr. *Williams* Idle upon this second Revolution, for such it may very truly be call'd, but apply'd himself with all the Diligence his declining Age admitted, to animate the *Irish* Gentlemen, who were here, with vigorous Principles, in the Measures necessary to be taken in a Case of that Nature, *viz.* Shewing their Abhorrence of the Proceedings of the former Reign, and particularly resenting the Conduct of such Persons who were found forward in betraying their Country to Popery. This assisted greatly in restoring the Tranquillity of that Kingdom, and bringing it to that happy Circumstance which it has been in ever since, *viz.* That not a Papist or a Jacobite of any Note, dares to stir or to appear with any threatening Gestures or Language, as used to be the Case. But they either fly or skulk about, in a manner, as if they expected Justice should lay hold on them for some Crime.

In *Scotland* he view'd the Influence of King *GEORGE*'s Reign, as it really was in most danger, and yet he espous'd the Interest of King *GEORGE*'s Friends there to the last, and as he began to be perfectly Master of the State and Condition of that Country, it was often his fear that things would be brought to Blood in that Country.

However, this hindred not his laying a Foundation of Good to the best Interest in that Country, tho' with due reserve against the possibility of the return of Episcopacy there. The Truth of it is, the Friends of the Church of *Scotland* have

have very little reason to owe any kindness to the *Scots* Episcopal party there, whose bloody proceedings against the Presbyterians, when they had Power in their Hands, have left such dreadful Marks behind them, and have made such deep Impressions on the Minds of the People there, and on the Minds of all that read or enquire into the Story of it, that Dr. *Williams* must have had little knowlege of *Scots* Affairs, or very little Concern for the Work he was promoting, if he had not reserv'd this Bounty, and secur'd the Effects of it from a Set of Men, who are known to be sworn Enemies of the People, for whose Service and Support it was intended; They may depend upon it, no *English* Man who ever proposes to give any considerable Gift to these Uses, as it is not improbable but more may follow, will fail to follow this Example, and preserve it from those Hands, which will be sure to employ it, in destroying that Church it was given to support.

I am not ignorant that it has been Objected, that the Gift or Legacy given by Dr. *Williams* to the University or Colleges of *Glasgow* and *Edinburgh*, are not Gifts to *Scotland*, or to the Universities as they are *Scots*, but are Gifts indeed to the Dissenters in *England*, being appropriated to the particular use of such Students as shall be sent from *England* by the Trustees, to study there; and that this was done, that the Dissenters Youth might be the better Educated, he being one of those Ministers who was a little dissatisfy'd with the manner of finishing young Men for the Pulpits in *England*; and withal not a little apprehensive of the Dissenters

Acca-

Accademies, would in Consequence of the late Schism Act be entirely suppress'd.

Tho' had this been true, with respect to the Dissenters in *England*, the foresight of Dr. *Williams* had not been unjust; yet it seems a very weak Inference, which is drawn from thence, and indeed, something malicious, that therefore his Legacy should be no Advantage to the Universities of *Scotland*, or was not design'd by him as a Testimony of his Affection to *Scotland*, and to the Universities there; and this Cavil is most easily defeated by referring to the whole Tenour of his Conduct, with respect to *Scotland*, and particularly to the Will itself, where so much of the Trust, as to the future Application of his Charity, rests upon the Masters and Heads of the Colleges of *Scotland*, that it is evident his View was the mutual Advantage on both sides; particularly it is clear that he thought the Integrity and Capacity of those Masters, &c. such as it was fit to trust the Care of the Education of the *English* Dissenters Ministers to them, a Trust of infinitely more concern than that of the Money.

It can never therefore pass for a Distrust, therefore, as some would insinuate, that he left those Gifts to revert to his Trustees, and left so much of the power in their hands, in the Cases specify'd in his Will; seeing it is evident that all that was the product of his fears; only as to the return of the Episcopal Church, Tyranny as above; and of his being very unwilling, as who could blame him, that any of his Gift should come into the management of a Party of Men, who not fail to apply it, to destroy that Interest which it was given to support.

Nor

Nor can the Episcopal Party in *Scotland* object any thing against the prudent disposition of this Charity, or make any Reflections upon the Justice of the Provisions made by this Will of *Dr. Williams* to keep any part of his Gift out of their hands; seeing they have not charg'd themselves with any concern to conceal their Animosity against that Interest, which this Legacy is lay'd, as a fund to propogate and reserve; but openly upon all Occasions testified to the World, that they would put the same measure in practise against them, as they did before; at least that they would leave no Stone unturn'd to destroy and overthrow them: And as it is confess'd that in this they are fair Enemies, and do no way disguise themselves; so the Doctor has been as open and undisguis'd, as they fairly letting them see that as he knew them to be Enemies: so he resolv'd they should never be strengthened in that Enmity by a Gift, which in his Design was determin'd to assist against them.

Those thing are mention'd here, to record on one hand the true concern which the Doctor had upon his Mind of the dangerous Condition of those Kingdoms in the late Reigns; and upon what Grounds it was, that he founded his Joy at the Establishment of the Royal House of *Hanover*: And on the other hand, that he rejoyc'd in it, as it was the delivering these Nations from a Flood of Popery and abominable Oppression, as it was an entire blasting the hopes of the barbarous Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the furious persecuting Party in *Scotland*, and from the High Party in *England* as they were the fountain and support of all the rest.

And

And it is very particular that as this Deliverance came to pass, but a little time before his Death, so he seem'd perfectly to acquiesce and rejoyce in it, and to look for nothing farther in his time: He did as it were with old *Simeon*, sing his *Nunc Dimittis*, &c. and look upon this as the finishing the publick Deliverance; as to the particular Deliverance of the Dissenters: I cannot say that he did much more than wish for it; indeed, he knew too much of the Designs of their vigilant Enemies, and the insincerity of those who were thought to be Friends, that I cannot say the Doctor died in the faith of that Affair's being ever brought to pass; at least, not otherwise than by the more immediate dispositions of Providence in a manner differing from all We have yet seen attempted; and indeed the disappointments which the Dissenters have met with in that Affair, would have been left a real Disappointment to him; had he liv'd to see it, than it was to many others, and this meerly upon the account of the clear view he had into those Things, and in which it must be said, that hitherto it is apparent he was not deceiv'd.

We have seen here a general Glance of the main Things he employ'd his Time and Thoughts upon, for we take *Dr. Williams* not as a meer Minister of their Gospel, but as a faithful Watchman over the Civil Interests of his Charge; and indeed, in this it might be said he was a Minister to the whole Body, and all the Dissenters in *England* and *Ireland* were his Congregation; he watch'd for their good, was as vigilant for their safety,

safety, their interests, and their advantages, as if they had been his peculiar Charge.

Yet all this while, as is observ'd before, he neither forgot or neglected the Duty of his more private Capacity; he did not forget that he was a Minister, and that he had upon him a pastoral Charge: He preach'd to them constantly, acceptably and successfully: In his Sermons was seen the pure Spirit of a Gospel Preacher: His Style was masterly and strong, yet flowing familiar and Plain, mingled with the Beauty of Oratory, and yet with the Energy of the most convincing perswading Language.

One thing is to be observ'd in him, and in which it were to be wish'd he were more strictly followed by others, *viz.* That he very rarely mingled the publick Affairs with his Divinity, or brought his politicks into his Pulpit: There he was grave, serious, affectionate, and weighty, and applied himself to the proper business of a Pulpit, *viz.* Speaking to the Souls of his Hearers, and preaching Christ Jesus.

It would be injuring him, rather than doing his Memory Justice, to go about here to describe his Manner, his Words, his Conduct in Things religious; I must appeal to the Memory of his Hearers and Friends, who have felt the force of his Argument, and bow'd under the Excellence of his perswading Talent; how clearly he argued, how closely he applied, how irresistibly he exhorted; it is in vain to attempt a description of his Life in this part of it.

He studiously avoided Politicks, and tho' he was by meer necessity engag'd in that unhappy Breach in the Union of the Dissenters, which

occasion'd the dividing the Tuesdays or Merchants Lecture; yet he bore his share in that Quarrel with so much Prudence, and treated the points in Dispute with so much Calmness; and the Persons who opposed him with so much Tendernefs, that it gain'd him at that time the Applause of both the unhappily contending Parties, and the Reputation which none of the rest obtain'd, viz. of leaving the Case better explain'd than he found it.

As he was not the first to open that Breach among good Men, so he was always the most forward to close it, and tho' it was perhaps never so perfectly healed as it might and ought to have been. Had the true Interest of the Dissenters been studied by the Parties on both Sides, and perhaps is not yet so healed; yet this must be always said of Dr. Williams that it was not for want of sincere Desires, and many Endeavours to have it otherwise.

For *as above*, he always, and most industriously avoided Disputes, especially among Ministers, as what always tended to weaken the Interest of Religion, and expose the Dissenters; and above all tended to bring the said Ministry of the Dissenters into Contempt: It would swell this History to an unreasonable length; should I go about to prove that such Things as those do thus expose the Dissenters; I mean should I go to prove it by Examples, which are indeed very many; but this does not concern the Case in hand. Dr. William's Part, was with as much earnestness as possible to maintain Peace among his Brethren, that they might join their Strength; *which as he observ'd*, was all little enough to carry on

on the great Work they were entrusted with The Breach mention'd above was indeed begun and carry'd on, when he had been but a little while in *London*, and when his Thoughts were embarrass'd sufficiently with the Distresses of his Friends in *Ireland*; yet he always contributed his Part with his utmost Skill to Peace; and when he could not effectually bring it to pass: He endeavour'd always to prevent the Animosity from spreading, and to keep the Breach from being made wider than it was.

In a Word, he was an universal Peace maker, an Encourager of all Charitable Principles, entertaining no profess'd Enmity in his Thoughts, where he could not cause his Judgment to agree, and endeavouring as much as in him lay, to make others as broad hearted as himself.

As he laid out himself in publick Affairs while he liv'd, so he laid out what he left for publick good when he died; and thus his Life and Death had the same general Tendency, viz. of doing good. Nor was his Capacity unanswerable to this greatness of Soul either way. He had a great Estate, but his Designs were equal to it; and tho' it is in it self the greatest Legacy that I find has been upon any Occasion what ever left to the publick Use of the Dissenters only, yet had it been ten times as great, 'tis evident, he had a Heart large enough, and concern for their Interest great enough to have given it all among them; and they have a great deal of Reason to honour his Memory, since no Man has ever shew'd a greater Affection to their Interest, as well as zeal for their Cause.

CONCLUSION.

In writing these Memoirs of *D. Williams's* Life, I have not enter'd into any part of his Family History, or of his Conduct in his particular Affairs; neither have I given the Complement to his Character, which is usual in those who write the Lives of such Men. I have not consulted in this either with his Relations, or those who may think they could have given hints needful to illustrate his Story in his relative Capacities; Nor have I thought those meaner Parts of his History so much worth dwelling upon; and that none may think the Work far coming short of your Expectation: I have given it not the Title of a History of his Life, but Memoirs of his Life: To which Title I have endeavour'd to be just.

His particular Friends may think all is not said of him, that might be said, and if that be true, they are at liberty to do his Memory more justice when they think fit: They will easily see that the Author of these Memoirs is one that has not been a Stranger to the Doctor, or unacquainted even with some of the Recesses of his Life, and tho' it may not be easie for them to satisfy their Curiosity in an enquiry into the Person: I hope they will see it is one that is willing to honour the Memory of the Man he writes of; and so far, if they are in the Number of his Friends, they cannot reasonably dislike the undertaking.

If any Thing be omitted, or but too superficially spoken to, if in any thing that is spoken to, they are able to go further, and more to his Advantage: They cannot want Opportunity to go on where this Work leaves off; such a Man's Life will furnish Matter for many Memoirs, and it will be scarce possible for any single Man to give a compleat History of his Life.

Let this Attempt then offend no Man for its deficiency; because it anticipates no Man that is willing to give a more perfect Account, and in the mean time this may be truly said, that perhaps no single Person remains alive, that has had so general and so long a knowledge of, and so particular an intimacy with the Doctor's Conduct in the Things here spoken of, or so many Opportunities to be acquainted with the particulars, as the Person who has handed these Memoirs to the Publick.

In the Dissenters Burying Place, near Bunhill-Fields, On a black Marble Tomb, inclosed with Iron Ballusters, is the following Inscription.

M. S.

DANIELIS WILLIAMS, S. T. P.

Wrexamiae in Comitatu Denbigensi,

inter Cambro-Britannos nati,

Qui à primis cunis

Pietate; aequè ac bonis Literis feliciter imbutus,
Divini Verbi Præconis munus admodum juvenis
in multis Angliae partibus, non sine laude pereggit
deinde apud Hibernos, præcipue Eblanae,

Ubi

Ubi media ætate consumpta, magnum sui desiderium
inter omnes reformatæ fidei Cultores reliquit,
Tandem Pontificia Tyrannide Londinum se conferre coactus,
Magna ibi celebritate Famae per multos annos
ad mortem usque floruit.

Vir amplissimâ mente,
in quo acutissimum Ingenium cum iudicio subactissimo
quod paucis contigit, conjunctum videbatur.

In omnibus Theologiæ
partibus, si quisquam alius, versatissimus,
Concionator vehemens idem & acer, gravis & copiosus,
assiduus & felix, ad docendum, probandum, permoven-
prout res postularet, aequè accommodatus. [dum

Pastor dubium peritior, an vigilantior,
ad Christianam fidem promovendam, opera, se, gratia,
Non in Patria solum, sed etiam apud exteros,
semper paratissimus;
ad consilia sive danda,

sive exequenda pariter instructissimus:
Idemq; in arduis aequè difficillimis rebus, tum publicis
tum privatis, peragendis non minori prudentia
& diligentia, quam integritate conspicuus,

In omnes charitate,
atque candore animi singulari:
Sibi in re amplissima parcus, in alios vero, pauperes
præcipue, ac rempublicam, ut semper alius,
ita testamento munificentissimus.

Denique omnis virtutis,
quantum mortalium capit conditio,
dum vixit studiosissimus; eorum, quæ illa non admittit
annis jam & laude plenus, in coelesti coetu
particeps factus, VII. Kal. Feb.

A N N O

Ætatis suæ LXXII. Christi MDCCXVI.

F I N I S.